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HISTORY

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Empire of the Musulmans

IN
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL;
FROM
THE FIRST INVASION OF THE MOORS, TO THEIR ULTIMATE
EXPULSION FROM THE PENINSULA.

By GEORGE POWER, Esq.

(Late of the 23d Regiment of Foot,) Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces.

Author of "An Attempt to investigate the Cause of the Egyptian
Ophthalmia, with Observations on its Nature and different Modes
of Cure."

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1815.

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TO
HIS GRACE
THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST NOBLE
ARTHUR,
DUKE OF WELLINGTON
AND
MARQUIS OF DOURO,
MARQUIS AND EARL OF WELLINGTON,
VISCOUNT WELLINGTON OF TALAVERA,
BARON DOURO, DUKE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO;
KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE
GARTER, KNIGHT OF THE MOST HONOURABLE
ORDER OF THE BATH, AND KNIGHT OF THE
FOREIGN ORDERS OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE—
GREAT CROSS OF MARIA THERESA—OF THE
TOWER AND SWORD—OF THE SWEDISH ORDER
OF THE SWORD—OF THE CRESCENT;
FIELD MARSHAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF HIS
BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S FORCES SERVING IN SPAIN
AND PORTUGAL;
MARSHAL GENERAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE SPANISH ARMIES;
AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY TO HIS MOST CHRISTIAN
MAJESTY LOUIS XVIII.
&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD DUKE,

In presenting the following
production to your Grace, I feel
A 2 that

that I bespeak for it a degree of importance and patronage, far, I fear, beyond its merits. To whom, however, could its dedication be offered with more propriety, than to a Prince, whose illustrious military achievements and heroic actions have been the means, not only of liberating the Peninsula from a race of men, much more to be dreaded than the Musulmans; but also whose comprehensive mind, genius, and powerful arm, having defended a portion of the Peninsula from the hordes of Gauls who aimed at its subjugation, as well as that of the whole universe, has been the instrument

ment employed by Divine Providence to preserve and cherish in Portugal the spark of liberty, which the overwhelming influence of France, under its late ruler, had nearly extinguished on the Continent of Europe?

Had these pages been employed in recording those portions of the history of the Peninsula, which present to view, though enveloped in obscurity and fable, the exploits of a Hercules conquering the Titans, and, according to the manners of the East, erecting a temple to the Sun, on the sacred promontory now called Point St. Vincent, the land-

ing of the Phenicians at Cadiz, and their subsequent conquests, or the arrival of Nebuchadonosor in Spain, to assuage their arrogance ; such circumstances, My Lord Duke, the veil which antiquity and poetic fiction throw over them being removed, having some resemblance to the events of the present day, would have afforded a fitter subject to present to your Grace. Or if, on a closer view, the development and detail of records, less remote, had been their object ; in tracing the steps of the Carthaginian Generals, Hamilcar pushing his conquests over the Romans to the Pyrenees, and
Hannibal,

Hannibal, accompanied by the brave and patriotic Viriatus, the celebrated Lusitanian leader, overcoming the difficulties which these mountains opposed, passing the Rhone, surmounting the Alps, and, despite of the skill and sagacity of the two Scipios and the prudence of a Fabius, forcing his victorious way to the very walls of Rome—These subjects, My Lord Duke, would have afforded materials for a work much more worthy of Your Excellency's notice, and might be presented with more propriety.

But, as trifles receive a value, when made the offerings of profound

respect and veneration, it is hoped
 Your Grace will be pleased to re-
 ceive the following work, as a tes-
 timony of the sincerity with which
 its author feels those sentiments.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's most obedient
 and most devoted Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

General Hospital, Plymouth Dock,

31st January 1815.

INTRODUCTION.

THE rapid establishment of the empire of the Arabs in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe, is one of the most extraordinary, and, at the same time, the most interesting events in history. We know that Mahomet and his early successors made an astonishing progress in a little time, to which the zeal and ardour a new religion always inspires must have contributed. But it was not entirely owing to enthusiasm ; their valour, and their experience in the art of war must have had wonderful effect. The Arabs, when Mahomet appeared, passed for the best race of men in that part of the world which they occupied,

occupied, and their cavalry was superior to that of all other nations.

The Moors of Spain and Portugal are celebrated, but their history is very little known. Their name recalls the recollection of gallantry, of politeness, and of the fine arts ; and the fragments of their annals, scattered in the Arabian and Spanish historians, afford nothing more than details of strangled kings, of divisions, of civil wars, and of eternal combats with their neighbours. In the midst of these sad recitals, we sometimes find the traces of goodness of heart, of justice, and of greatness of mind.

Such characteristics strike us much more forcibly than those which we read in our own histories, because they preserve an impression of originality, stamped upon them by their oriental origin ; and because, accompanied by so many examples of barbarity, one good action, one noble

ble sentiment, or one affecting word, acquires a lively brilliancy, when compared with the crimes by which it is surrounded.

In this history of the Musulmans, I wish only to trace a faithful sketch of the character and the manners of a people, amongst whom I have resided some time in Asia and in Africa; from whom I can perceive the people of the Peninsula, at the present day, derive their peculiar cast of character, and from whom they have acquired many improvements in arts and manufactures.

The Spanish and Portuguese languages are founded on the Latin, aspirated by the guttural pronunciation of the Arabic, and are frequently combined with that language. The manners of the lower classes bear a strong resemblance to those of the Moors; and, even in the higher ranks of society, that bold and lofty spirit impatient of control, and that ardent patriotism,

so strongly exemplified at this time, may be attributed, in some measure, to an oriental origin.

I am aware that I tread on tender ground, when I attempt to trace those features of character; but when it is considered, that the Italian language is the Latin softened by the Greek, that Rome derived its taste, its elegances, and its arts from Athens, and that those arts originated in Egypt, where I have had an opportunity of examining and admiring the most stupendous and magnificent remains of antiquity; I hope that no ungenerous motives will be attributed to these observations, which are only intended to elucidate that peculiar character of the Spaniards, so different from the other nations of Europe, and which ought to be better known, in order to be better understood.

There is little doubt that the days of chivalry
and

and knight errantry, which took rise in those countries, and which contributed so much to the civilization of mankind even in the dark ages of Christianity, owed their origin, in some measure, to the influence of Moorish superstitions. From them were derived the tales of sorcerers, necromancers, magicians, and enchanters, whose supposed existence afforded such abundant subjects for the romances of those days, which caused such excessive follies, as required the exertions of the inimitable Cervantes to remove, and against which he directed those exquisitely keen shafts of ridicule, which have rendered him immortal, and the value of which can never be sufficiently appreciated, except in those regions where the incidents related are supposed to occur, and in that language in which the life and adventures of the Knight of La Mancha were originally written.

As

As an apology for the many inaccuracies with which I fear this work will be found to abound, I have to offer the constant avocations of military duty, the unsettled life of a soldier in the field, exposed often, for weeks together, to the open air, and above all, my absence from home, which deprives me of the power of correcting any mistakes of the press.

With respect to the authorities whence I have drawn my information, I have to observe, generally, that I am indebted to the works of Florian; to the History of the Arabs under the Government of the Caliphs, by the Abbé de Marigny; to the History of Africa and Spain under the Dominion of the Arabs, taken from different Arabic manuscripts by Cardonne; and to the Annals of Spain and Portugal, by Don Juan Alvares de Colmenar; &c. &c. &c. The services on which I have been employed during the last
fifteen

fifteen years, have offered me some opportunities of exploring the different theatres on which these scenes have been acted, have served to give me a taste for those pursuits, and have enabled me to give some anecdotes, which connect the story, in some measure, with the passing events of the present day.

Coimbra, 1812.

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HISTORY
OF THE
EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

IN
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK I.

THE HISTORY OF THE

EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

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EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

BY

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

BY

BOOK I

OF THE

EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF
THE MUSULMAN SOVEREIGNS
WHO REIGNED
IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

<i>Caliphs of the East.</i>	<i>Governors or Viceroy's of Spain and Portugal.</i>
Ann. Dom.	Ann. Dom.
705 Valid I. the eleventh Omniade Caliph.	714 Moussa, conqueror of Spain.
716 Suleiman.	717 Abdelazis, son of Moussa.
718 Omar II.	718 Alahor.
721 Yezid.	721 Elzemagh.
723 Hackem.	723 Ambeze ben Sehim.
	725 Asre ben Abdoullah.
	727 Jahiah ben Séléme.
	728 Osman Abinéza.
	728 Hazifa ben Elahous.
	729 Hackem ben Hadi.
	731 Mahomet ben Abdoullah.

Caliphs of the East.

Ann. Dom.

742 Valid II.

743 Yezid III.

744 Ibrahim.

744 Mervan II. the last
Omniade Caliph.752 Aboul Abbas Saffah, first
Abbasside Caliph.754 Aboul Giaffar Almanzor,
second Abbasside Ca-
liph.*Governors or Viceroy of Spain
and Portugal.*

Ann. Dom.

731 Abdabraham ben Ab-
doullah, killed at the
Battle of Tours.

734 Abdoulmelex ben Koutn.

735 Akbe ben el Hadjadi.

742 Aboulatar Hassam.

745 Téwabé.

746 Joseph el Fahri, the last
Viceroy.

CHAPTER I:

Origin of the Musulmans The Arabs . . . Mahomet,
his religion Progress of Islamism Death of
Mahomet His character.

THE Moors are the inhabitants of that vast tract of country in Africa, bordered on the east by Egypt, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by the desarts of Barbary. Their origin, like that of almost all nations, is obscure, and mixed with fable. It appears certain, however, that emigrations from Asia took place in early times into Africa ; and the name of Moors, said to be derived from the Hebrew word *Mahurim*, which signifies *Eastern*, seems to indicate this origin.

On the other hand, a number of historians speak of one *Melek-Yafrik*, King of Arabia Felix, who followed by numbers

of the Sabeans, possessed himself of Lybia, and gave it the name of Africa; and the principal tribes of the Moors pretend to be descended from those Sabeans. Without disputing these matters so very ancient, it is sufficient for us to know, that the first Moors were Arabs; therefore we are not much surprised to see them always separated in tribes, living under tents, wandering in the desarts, and cherishing, like their fathers, that free and pastoral life.

They are known in ancient history under the name of Numidians, Getulians, and Massilians; and occasionally subjects, enemies, or allies of the famous Carthage, they fell with it under the dominion of the Romans.

(A. D. 427.) After many ineffectual revolts, caused by the inconstant, flighty, and unsettled spirit of these people, they were subdued by the Vandals. Belisarius
conquered

conquered those some ages afterwards ; but the Arabs, conquerors of Greece, subdued Mauritania. As, since that moment, the Moors became Musulmans, and, under this appellation, confounded with the Arabs, it becomes necessary to say a few words concerning that extraordinary nation, unknown during so many ages, and becoming mistress, suddenly, of the greatest part of the then known world.

The Arabs are, beyond contradiction, one of the most ancient nations of the universe ; and perhaps it is this, more than any other circumstance, which has influenced them to preserve their character, their manners, and independence. From the most remote ages, divided in tribes, wandering over the plains, or collected in villages, subject to the chief warrior or magistrate of the time, never have they been subject to the dominion of strangers.

The Persians, the Macedonians, the Romans, endeavoured in vain to conquer them. Proud of their origin, which they retrace almost to the days of the Patriarchs, and conscious of having thus defended their liberty, the Arabs, in the midst of their desarts, regard other nations as so many troops of slaves, assembled together by chance, to change their masters. Brave, temperate, indefatigable, inured from their infancy to the most painful labours, fearing neither thirst, hunger, nor death, these people wanted but one man to make them masters of the world.

(A. D. 569.) Mahomet made his appearance, gifted by nature with all those qualities which are calculated to attract and impose. Possessed of valour, sagacity, eloquence, and grace, Mahomet, in more enlightened nations, would have been a great man ; amongst a people ignorant and fanatic,

natic, he must have been, indeed he was, esteemed a prophet.

About this time the Arab tribes, surrounded by Jews, by Christians, and by Idolators, had made a superstitious combination of the different religions with that of the ancient Sabeans. They believed in the existence of genii, of demons, and sorcerers; they adored the stars, and sacrificed to idols.

Mahomet, after having meditated until his forty-fourth year, in retirement and silence, the new dogmas he wished to establish; after having seduced or persuaded the principal part of his own family (the Cosheshirites, guardians of the temple of Caaba, which was of the highest rank amongst the Arabs), preached at once a new religion, inimical to all the religions then known, and calculated to inflame the ardent minds of this people.

“ Children

“Children of Ishmael,” says he to them,
 “I restore to you that worship, which
 “your father Abraham, Noah, and all the
 “Patriarchs professed.

“There is but one God, sovereign of
 “the world; he calls himself merciful;
 “adore no other God but him. Be ye
 “bountiful towards the orphan, the poor,
 “the slaves, and the captives. Be just
 “towards all men; for justice is the sister
 “of piety. Pray and be charitable: your
 “recompence will be to live in heaven, in
 “gardens the most delightful, where lim-
 “pid streams abound, where you will find
 “wives for ever beautiful, for ever young,
 “and everlastingly in love with you.*

“Encounter

* These pleasures held out to a people inhabiting
 a sandy desert under a burning sun, where limpid
 streams never flow, and where a beautiful woman is
 seldom to be seen, must have excited sensations of de-
 light

“ Encounter with valour the unbelievers
 “ and the impious ; maintain the combat
 “ until you gain the victory, until they
 “ consent to embrace Islamism or to pay
 “ you tribute. Every soldier killed in bat-
 “ tle will go to enjoy the treasures of hea-
 “ ven. The cowardly cannot prolong their
 “ lives. The instant the angel of death
 “ gives the blow is noted in the book of
 “ the Eternal Being.”

The word Islamism is derived from *eslam*,
 which means consecration by God. The
 Koran contains the doctrine of this reli-
 gion, combined with a great deal of absur-
 dity and incoherent ideas ; but the entire
 work exhibits a degree of enthusiastic rap-
 ture, and the moral precepts which it con-
 tains

light too exquisite to be described. It is requisite to
 reside some time in those arid regions, to enable us to
 form any idea of the value of these enjoyments.

tains are pure. Mahomet never speaks himself; it is the angel Gabriel who conveys to him the words of God: the prophet hears and repeats them. The angel takes care to enter into all the details which concern not only religion, but also legislation and police; so that the Koran, amongst the Musulmans, is at the same time the code of their sacred and civil laws. One half of the book is in verse, the other in poetic prose. Mahomet was a great poet, a talent so much esteemed in Arabia, that the people used to assemble at Mecca, to judge of the different poems which their authors came to affix to the walls of the temple of Caaba. The best poet was crowned with great solemnity. When Mahomet came to affix the second chapter of the Koran, Labia ebn Rabia, the most celebrated poet of that time, tore down the poem which

which he had placed near it, and avowed himself surpassed by the prophet.

The precepts of Mahomet, announced in a language rich, figurative, and majestic, embellished with the charms of poetry, presented by an angel from heaven, through the medium of a prophet, at once a warrior, a poet, and a legislator, to a people in the universe the most ardent, the most passionately fond of the marvellous, of voluptuous pleasures, of heroic achievements, and of the beauties of poetry, must soon have found disciples. Mahomet had a great number, which persecution served to augment. His enemies forced him to fly from Mecca, his country, (A. D. 622, Hegiræ 1), and to take refuge at Medina; but this flight became the epoch of his glory and the Hegira of the Musulmans.

From this moment Islamism spread itself, like a torrent, through Arabia and Ethiopia.

In

In vain did some tribes of idolaters or Jews wish to defend their ancient worship; in vain did Mecca arm its soldiers against the destroyer of their gods; Mahomet, sword in hand, dispersed their armies, possessed himself of their towns, pardoned all those whom he vanquished, and attached to him, by his clemency, by his genius, and by his talents, those people whom he had subdued.

A legislator, a pontiff, chief of all the Arab tribes, master of an invincible army, respected by the sovereigns of Asia, adored by a powerful nation, and supported by captains who had become heroes under him, he was about to march against Heraclius, when he died at Medina (A. D. 632, A. H. 11), in consequence of poison, which was given to him by a Jewess of Kahiabar.

Mahomet was not that monster of cruelty which some writers paint him. He was
always

always merciful to the conquered, and he pardoned even personal injuries. He was one day preaching to the people in a mosque at Medina, when a poet, named Caab, the son of Zohair, who had been one of his most bitter enemies, and who had set a price upon his head, made his appearance unexpectedly, and demanded an audience, in order that he might recite some verses which he had composed in his praise. Although the prophet had cause to be irritated against the poet, who had recently defamed him in one of his satires, yet he thought it, nevertheless, consistent with his dignity, to forget injuries, when a person offered to make atonement. He ordered Caab to approach and proceed.

The poet commenced by asking pardon for the temerity with which he had written against Mahomet. The serenity which reigned in the countenance of the prophet, afforded

afforded a happy presage of pardon, and Caab recited forthwith a piece of poetry, so energetic and so touching, that Mahomet, in returning thanks, made him a present, which has immortalized the memory of the poet amongst the Arabs. Mahomet took off the mantle which he had on his own shoulders, and placed it, with his own hands, on those of his panegyrist.

Caab preserved this mantle most carefully until his death. Whilst he was living, the Caliph Moavia offered him for it ten thousand drachms of gold, which he refused. The same Moavia directed that his body should, after his death, be sent to his heirs with twenty thousand drachms (Abulfed says forty thousand), and he received from them the mantle.

Almonstasem-villah, 362d Caliph, and the last of the family of the Abassides, was clothed with this mantle, when he marched
from

from Bagdad to meet the victorious Holagu, Emperor of the Tartars : he carried also in his hand the staff of the prophet. Holagu stripped him of the mantle, deprived him of the staff, burned them in a pan, and threw the ashes into the Tigris, saying, “ It is not from contempt that I “ have burned these sacred ornaments, but “ more from a motive of respect, and to “ preserve their purity and sanctity from “ the blood with which they ought not to “ be profaned by the wicked.”

This mantle must have been but little used, for when the Tartar caused it to be burned, it had been preserved more than six hundred years.

The last moments of Mahomet prove that he was far from having a cruel disposition. At the brink of the grave he arose from his couch, betook himself to a mosque supported in the arms of Ali, mounted the

c

pulpit,

pulpit, and having prayed, he addressed himself to the congregation in the following words:

“ Musulmans, I am about to die ; no
 “ one has now occasion to fear me. If I
 “ have punished any one amongst you un-
 “ justly, behold here I am, that you may
 “ punish me ; if I have deprived you of
 “ your property, here is my purse that you
 “ may pay yourselves ; if I have humiliated
 “ any of you, I give myself over to your
 “ justice, that you may humiliate me in
 “ my turn.”

The people burst into tears and groans. One man alone came to demand three drachmas, and Mahomet, in paying him, wished to add the interest. He then bid a tender adieu to the brave inhabitants of Medina, who had so valiantly defended him ; he gave their liberty to the slaves, regulated the order of his funeral, and as
 if

if to sustain, to the very last moments, the character of a prophet, he said, even in the agonies of death, that he was conversing with the angel Gabriel.

The grief and sorrow which this event occasioned was universal in Arabia. The people put forth howlings and rolled themselves in the dust. Fatima, his daughter, died of despair. The poison which terminated the days of the prophet was given to him, some years before, by a Jewess, whose brother had been killed by Ali. This vindictive female poisoned some roast lamb which she served to Mahomet. No sooner had he put a morsel into his mouth, than he threw it out, exclaiming that it was poisoned : but notwithstanding this promptitude, in spite of all the remedies which were administered, the poison was so powerful that he suffered from it all his life, and died in

consequence, four years afterwards, in the sixty-third year of his age.

The respect, the veneration, which the orientals entertained for Mahomet, cannot be conceived. Their learned men have written that the world was made for him; that the first thing which God created was light, and that this light became the substance of the soul of Mahomet, &c. &c.

Some have maintained, that the Koran is incredible; others have adopted contrary opinions. Hence arises that crowd of commentators and of sects; hence those wars, concerning religious opinions, which have covered Asia with blood.

CHAPTER II.

Victories of the Musulmans..... The Alexandrian
Library.

THE death of Mahomet did not arrest the progress of his religion nor the conquests of the Arabs. Aboubekre, father-in-law to the prophet, was named his successor, and took the title of Caliph, which means simply vicar, or curate. In his reign the Musulmans penetrated into Syria, dispersed the troops of Heraclius, and took the city of Damascus, after a siege rendered for ever memorable, by the more than human exploits of the famous Kaled, surnamed the Sword of God.

The feats of arms of this Kaled, as reported by the most authentic historians, resemble those of the heroes of ancient

Rome. Once the enemy of Mahomet, he conquered the prophet at the battle of Ahd, the only one in which the latter was ever vanquished. Becoming afterwards a zealous Musulman, he subdued the people who revolted after the death of Mahomet, beat the army of Heraclius, conquered Syria, Palestine, and a part of Persia, and returned victorious from a number of single combats, which he always proposed to generous enemies. One trait will serve to give an idea of his character.

Having laid siege to the town of Bostra, the governor, a Greek, named Romain, feigned that he wished to make a sortie, and proceeded to arrange his troops opposite the army of Kaled, with whom, just before the signal was given, he demanded a conference. The two warriors advanced at the same time to the centre of the space which separated both armies. Romain
told

told the Musulman, that he had determined to deliver over to him the town, and to embrace Islamism ; but expressed his fear that the soldiers, by whom he was not much esteemed, would not spare his life, and supplicated Kaled to afford him the means to escape their vengeance. “ The most eligible measure,” answered Kaled, “ which I can suggest, is, that you fight with me forthwith. This mark of courage will draw upon you the respect of your troops, and we can afterwards settle the treaty of capitulation.” At these words, without waiting for Romain’s answer, he drew his scimeter, and attacked the unfortunate governor, who defended himself with a trembling hand. At each blow which Kaled inflicted, Romain asked him, “ do you wish then to kill me ? ” — “ No,” answered the Musulman, “ I am only endeavouring to cover you with
c 4 “ glory,

“glory, and the more blows you receive,
 “the more you will acquire of public esti-
 “mation.” In short, he left Romain
 bruised all over, possessed himself of the
 town, and when he again saw the gover-
 nor, he treated him with that contempt
 his treachery merited.

Amid so many victories, Aboubekre, to
 whom every one brought the immense
 booty taken from the enemy, never took to
 himself, for his private expenses, more
 than a sum equivalent to forty of our pence
 per day.

Omar, the successor to Aboubekre, or-
 dered Kaled to march to Jerusalem, which,
 together with Syria and Palestine, was sub-
 dued by the Arabs. The Turks and Per-
 sians demanded a peace; Heraclius fled
 from Antioch; Asia trembled under Omar;
 and the terrible Musulmans, modest in the
 midst of victory, ascribed their success to
 God

God alone; preserving, in [the centre of a country the most beautiful, the richest, and the most delightful on earth, and amongst a people the most corrupt, their austere manners, their frugality, their severe discipline, and their respect for their poverty. One might see a soldier, occupied in the pillage of a town, stop directly on the first command of his chief, and report to him faithfully the quantity of gold or silver which he had taken, in order that it might be deposited in the public treasury : one might see these captains, so brave, and as superb as kings, lay down or resume the command, after receiving a letter from the Caliph, to become in their turns generals, ambassadors, or common soldiers, according to his wishes : one might see, in fact, Omar himself, Omar the most powerful sovereign, the most wealthy and the most magnificent of the kings of Asia, betake
himself

himself to Jerusalem on a red camel, laden with a sack of barley and rice, a skin filled with water, and a vessel to drink. With this equipage he travelled through the conquered nations. The people crowded to see him, to demand his blessing, and to beg of him to settle their differences. Arrived at the army, he preached to them simplicity of manners, bravery and modesty. On entering Jerusalem, the Caliph pardoned the Christians, preserved their churches, and, remounting his camel, he returned to Medina to offer up prayers for his people.

(A. D. 640.) The Musulmans marched towards Egypt, which country was soon subdued. Alexandria was taken by Amrou, one of the most celebrated generals of Omar: and it was at this period that the famous library perished, a subject of eternal regret to the learned world. The
Arabs,

Arabs, so passionately fond of their own poetry, despise the literary productions of other nations. Amrou ordered the library of the Ptolemies to be burned ; and yet this man was celebrated for his own poetry. He loved and respected the learned John the grammarian, on whom, without the Caliph's order, he wished to bestow this library.

Ptolemy Soter, in founding at Alexandria a museum or academy, had, at the same time, commenced the establishment of a library, which he placed near his palace, in a building called Bruchion. This library was considerably augmented by his successors. Under Philadelphos, his son, it already amounted to one hundred thousand volumes ; and in a little time after, being increased to three hundred thousand, or thereabout, some of them were placed in the Serapion ; a temple thus called, from
a statue

a statue of Serapis, which Ptolemy had caused, in previous times, to be brought from Sinope, and which, at present, lies prostrate on the shore at Aboukir, and is washed by the same waves which overflow the ruins of the reputed baths of Cleopatra.

In the wars which Cæsar waged against Anthony at Alexandria, the Bruchion was burned, with the four thousand volumes which it contained; but the Serapion was preserved. Cleopatra, by whom we are led to believe the library of Pergamus, presented to her by Anthony, was ordered to be transported thither, increased it to two hundred thousand volumes; from which we may suppose that, with the other additions which had since that period been made to it, the last library must have been more voluminous than the former.

When Amrou demanded of Omar permission to bestow it on his friend John, the
Caliph

Caliph decided otherwise. “If,” said he,
 “these books contain only what is written
 “in the Koran, they are not wanted; if
 “they contain any thing differing from
 “that, they ought to be burned.”

Amrou, it is said, ordered them to be distributed through the different towns as fuel, which purpose they served for six months. Some historians say, that the books taken from this library served the Saracen soldiers as fuel for cooking their victuals.* When it is considered of what materials the books of those days were constructed, it becomes probable that this occurrence might have taken place without an order from Amrou; and indeed, when we

* Even in our days, the British army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, remained some time upon this ground, and experienced much inconvenience from the want of fuel.

we reflect upon the fate of the many libraries which we have seen committed to the flames, for similar purposes, by christian soldiers, in latter days, in Spain and Portugal, the volumes of which, if composed of *papyrus* or parchment, would have been sufficient to replace the ponderous tablets of ancient times, and to fill the shelves of a library as large as that of Ptolemy, the loss which the learned world has sustained, will seem more likely to have originated in this cause, than in any contempt for learning on the part of Amrou.*

It

* The ruins of the library stand on a spot somewhat elevated, about three miles distant from the modern Alexandria, on the sea coast. At the memorable battle of the 21st of March, 1801, the 23d regiment of foot, or Royal Welch Fusileers, were posted between the walls of this edifice, which being of considerable height and extent, served materially to strengthen the
right

It was Amrou who carried into effect a design worthy of the best ages of Rome, that of joining the Red Sea to the Mediterranean by a navigable canal, into which the waters of the Nile were turned. This canal, so useful to Egypt, so important for the commerce of Europe and Asia, was effected in a few months; but the Turks have suffered it to go to destruction.

Amrou

right of the British line. This position was repeatedly attacked by the French invincibles, with a degree of desperate bravery; not one of whom, it is believed, left the field alive. Immediately in front, a small temporary redoubt was constructed, which the gallant 28th regiment, commanded by the present General Paget, occupied, and defended so valiantly, that the French could not dislodge them; and in the heat of the action they were in the rear of, and frequently surrounded by the enemy, amongst whom they produced a degree of confusion and slaughter which contributed materially to the success of that glorious conflict, so honourable to the British arms.

Amrou advanced into Africa, at the same time that other Arab chiefs passed the Euphrates and subdued Persia. But Omar was now no more, and Othman supplied his place.

CHAPTER III.

New Victories The Bereberes The Moors become Musulmans State of Spain under the dominion of the Goths.

(A. D. 647.) IN the reign of the Caliph Othman, the Arabs conquered Mauritania, and in chasing away for ever the feeble Greeks they found no resistance, but from the warlike tribes of the Bereberes, from whom is derived the present name of that portion of Africa called Barbary. We may consider these people, with great probability, as the descendants of the early Arabs who came with Melek Yafric, confounded with the ancient Numidians. Their language, which differs from those of the other nations, is supposed to be a corruption of the Punic or Carthaginian. What-

D

ever

ever be the fact, the Bereberes exist to this day in the kingdom of Morocco, divided into tribes and wandering in the mountains. They never associate with the Moors, whom they do not like. Subject to the King of Morocco as the head of their religion, but braving his authority whenever they please, formidable from their number and acknowledged bravery, they have still preserved their independence and their ancient manners.

These free and pastoral people, the ancient inhabitants of Numidia, and who, even in our days, confining themselves to the mountains of Atlas, have preserved a degree of independence, defended themselves a long time against the vanquishers of the Moors. A Musulman general, of the name of Akbey, subdued them at last, gave them laws and a religion, and advancing to the eastern extremity of Africa,

was

was only stopped by the ocean. There, full of enthusiasm, of heroism, and of religious zeal, he pressed his horse into the sea, drew his sabre, and exclaimed, “ God
 “ of Mahomet, were it not for this ele-
 “ ment, which has arrested my progress,
 “ I would advance to find out new nations,
 “ and to compel them to adore thy name.”

At this epoch, the Moors, subjected in turn by the Romans, the Carthaginians, the Vandals, and the Greeks, were but slightly interested in the affairs of their different masters. Wandering in the deserts, they occupied themselves with the care of their flocks : they paid arbitrary imposts, they suffered the most cruel vexations from their governors, they essayed, from time to time, to break their fetters ; and after being defeated, betook themselves to flight, to the mountains of Atlas or to the interior of the country. Their religion was a mix-

ture of christianity and idolatry; their manners, those of Numidian slaves. Rude, ignorant, unhappy, brutalized by despotism, they were much the same, at that remote period, as they are now under the tyrants of Morocco.

The arrival of the Arabs produced amongst them a great change. Having a common origin with their new conquerors, speaking the same language, and being influenced by the same passions, there was but little difficulty in attaching the conquered to the conquerors. The annunciation of that religion preached by one of the descendants of Ismael, whom the Moors regard as their father, and the rapid victories of the Musulmans, who were already masters of part of Asia and of Africa, made a forcible impression upon the Moors, and restored to them their ancient energy. They embraced with transport the dogmas of Mahomet,

Mahomet, they united themselves with the Arabs, they became anxious to fight in their cause, and were fascinated with Islamism in these days of its glory.

This reunion, which combined the strength of two nations, was disturbed, for some time, by the revolt of the Bereberes (A. D. 708), always passionately fond of their liberty. The Caliph Valid I, who then reigned, dispatched from Egypt Moussa Benazir, an experienced and valiant general, at the head of one hundred thousand men.

Moussa, having defeated the Bereberes and pacified Mauritania, proceeded to possess himself of Tangiers, which then belonged to the Goths from Spain. Master of an immense territory, and commanding a formidable army, composed of people to whom war had become habitual, he now

formed the idea of carrying his arms into that peninsula.

This fine nation, after having been subject, from time to time, to the Phenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, had become a prey to Barbarians. The Alans, the Swedes, the Vandals, known under the general name of Goths, had possessed themselves of the different provinces; but Eurice, one of their kings, towards the fifth century, had reunited all Spain under his controul, and had transmitted it to his descendants.

The mildness of the climate, its richness and prosperity, had effeminated its conquerors, had given to them vices which they did not possess whilst they were barbarians, and had deprived them of that warlike valour, which alone had made them successful.

The

The kings who succeeded to Eurice, sometimes Arians, sometimes Catholics, committed their power entirely to the hands of bishops and priests, and reigned in the midst of troubles, occasioned by the religious feuds of those early sectarists.

Roderic, the last king of this race, disgraced the throne by his vices, which were so atrocious as to cause his ruin. It is supposed that he offered violence to the daughter of Count Julien, and it is certain that this Count Julien, and his brother Oppa, Archbishop of Toledo, both men of great influence with the Goths, favoured the irruption of the Musulmans.

CHAPTER IV.

Conquest of Spain by the Musulmans....Abdelazis
 created Viceroy of Spain....Appearance of Pelagus
Abderame contemplates the conquest of France.

TARICK, one of the greatest captains of his time, was dispatched by Moussa into Spain, at the head of a very few troops, with which, nevertheless, he defeated a numerous army, which Roderic had collected. In a little time, having received reinforcements from Africa (A. D. 714), he conquered Roderic himself, at the battle of Xeres, where the King of the Goths is said to have perished in the general slaughter; but as his horse, his crown, and shoes of gold adorned with precious stones, were found in the river Guadalete, supposed to be the Lethe of the Poets, it is
 believed

believed that he assumed a disguise to favour his escape.

Don Roderigo, as he is generally styled at the present day, notwithstanding his licentious life and luxurious habits, is said, on this memorable occasion, to have exhibited extraordinary proofs of military skill and courage. The conflict was continued for eight days. The victory remained for a long time doubtful, and even inclined to favour the Christians, when Bishop Oppa, who was present, throwing off the mask, led his followers to the support of the Musulmans, and decided the fate of the day. Don Roderigo, some authors assert, escaped from the field of battle, and, accompanied by a priest, retired to the mountains of Beira, where he ended his days in penitence and prayer.

In the small church of San Migal, in the vicinity of Vizen, in Portugal, is a plain
sarcophagus,

sarcophagus, bearing a Latin inscription, intimating that there lies, or did lie, as far as tradition can be trusted, the remains of the last King of the Goths.

Tarick followed up his victory, penetrated into Estramadura, Andalusia, and the Castiles; and being soon joined by Moussa, who became jealous of his lieutenant, these two extraordinary men dividing their army into a number of bodies, achieved, in a few months, the total conquest of Spain.

Tarick made a landing at Mount Calpe, and took the town of Heraclia, to which the Arabs gave the name of Dgebel Tarick, and which has been changed into Giber or Gibraltar: *alter*, in Spanish, signifying a height.

The Musulmans built a high wall across this singular mountain, dividing it nearly into two equal portions. That to the south seems to have been unoccupied; the other, comprising

comprising the most inaccessible part of this tremendous rock, was fortified from hostile invaders by this wall, which has embrasures and a footway on its top, and a surface sufficiently wide to allow soldiers to pass in defile.

The ruins of many Moorish edifices exist to this day : amongst the most remarkable is the castle, in an angle of which an aperture is pointed out to strangers, from which the veteran Elliot was accustomed to view the proceedings of the enemy during the memorable siege of that fortress.*

It is necessary to observe, that these Mussulmans, whom many historians represent as blood-thirsty barbarians, allowed the conquered Christians an undisturbed enjoyment

* It is rather a singular circumstance, that the rock of Gibraltar is said to be the only part of Europe which produces apes and monkies, and to which the late General O'Hara granted numerous privileges.

ment of their religion, their places of worship, and their laws. They exacted no more than the Spaniards were accustomed to pay their own kings ; and it is not to be supposed that they were extremely ferocious, when the greater number of the conquered cities surrendered by capitulation, and the Christians united themselves so intimately with them, that those of Toledo took the name of Musarabes ; and when the Queen Egilone, widow of the late King Roderic, did not disdain to espouse publicly, with the consent of both nations, Abdelazis, the son of Moussa.

The jealousy of Moussa being excited by the successes of Tarick, he wished to remove a person whose actions had eclipsed his own, and he preferred an accusation against him to the Caliph. Valid recalled them both, and without adjusting their differences, allowed them to die at his court,
of

of chagrin, occasioned by seeing their services forgotten.

Abdelazis, the husband of Egilone, remained Governor of Spain, and lived but a short time. Alahor, who succeeded him, carried his arms into France, subdued the Narbonese, and was preparing to push his victories still further (A. D. 718), when he was informed that Pelagns, a prince of the blood royal of the Goths, having taken refuge in the mountains of the Asturias with a handful of valiant soldiers, dared to brave the conquerors of Spain, and had formed the noble design of delivering Spain from their yoke.

Alahor sent some troops against him. Pelagus intrenched himself in his rocks, fought the Musulmans twice, strengthened his little army, possessed himself of some castles, and reanimating the courage of the Christians, beaten down by repeated misfortunes,

fortunes, *he proved to the astonished Spaniards, that the Musulmans were not invincible.*

The insurrection of Pelagus occasioned the recal of Alahor by the Caliph Omar II. Elzemagh, his successor, conceiving that the most certain means of preventing revolutions would be to make the people happy, occupied himself in improving the police of Spain, in regulating the imposts, which were until then arbitrary, and keeping together a large army, which was regularly paid. A friend to the fine arts, which the Arabs cultivated at this period, Elzemagh embellished Cordova and made it his capital. He invited learned men to his court, and composed a book himself, which contained a description of the towns, rivers, and ports of Spain, its metals, marbles, and mines, and comprehended, in fact, every subject which could be interesting to
the

the sciences, or useful in administration. Not at all disquieted by the movements of Pelagus, whose entire power was confined to the possession of a few fortresses and inaccessible mountains, Elzemagh took no pains to dislodge him; but, influenced by an unlucky desire which constantly operated upon the Governors of Spain to extend their conquests into France, he passed the Pyrenees, and was killed in a battle, in which he was opposed by Eudes, Duke of Aquitain. (A. D. 720, A. H. 104).

After the death of Elzemagh, a number of governors arrived during the reign of Caliph Yezid II. and in the space of a few years they succeeded each other rapidly in Spain.

The death of this Caliph was occasioned by a curious circumstance, which deserves notice and merits some pity. He was amusing himself one day in throwing raisin
stones

stones at one of his favourite slaves, named Hababah, which she endeavoured to catch in her mouth. Unfortunately, one of those stones, which are much larger in Syria than in Europe, stopped in the throat of Hababah, and stifled her on the spot. Yezid, in despair, would not permit the object of his love to be interred, but remained with the corpse eight entire days in her chamber, without wishing to quit it one instant. At length constrained, by its corruption, to consent to a separation from it, he died of grief, after having ordered that he should be buried in the tomb of his dear Hababah.

No other actions of these governors merit detail ; but during this time, the brave Pelagus enlarged his little state, advanced as far as the mountains of Leon, and made himself master of some strong places. This hero, whose courage called to freedom the
Asturians

Asturians and Cantabrians, laid the foundation of that powerful monarchy, the warriors of which became in their turn capable of pursuing the Africans to the very mountains of Atlas.

(A. D. 731.) The Musulmans, who thought of nothing but conquering new nations, made no great effort against Pelagus. They were certain of reducing him with little difficulty when they had subdued France; and this desire alone occupied the ardent mind of Abdalrahman, better known by the name of Abderame. His glory, his valour, his talents, and his unbounded ambition, caused him to regard this conquest as a thing easily accomplished; but he was greatly disappointed.

CHAPTER V.

Charles Martel Abderame invades France

Advances to the Loire Battle of Tours Civil Wars in Spain.

THE son of Pepin d'Heristal, grand-sire of Charlemagne, Charles Martel, whose exploits would efface those of his father, and have not been obliterated by those of his grandson, was at this time a person of great importance under the last princes of the first dynasty. Indeed it is probable that Charles was the real King of France and Germany. The Duke of Aquitain, Eudes, master of Guian and Gascony, had a long quarrel with Charles, but being too weak to resist him, he sought the alliance of Muniza, Governor of Catalonia, the secret enemy of Abderame. These two men, both
of

of them discontented with their sovereigns, whom they feared, united their interests by the most intimate bonds. The Christian Duke did not hesitate to give his daughter in marriage to his Musulman ally, and the Princess Numerance espoused the Moor Muniza, as the Queen Egilone had Abdalazis.

Abderame, informed of this alliance, soon saw into its motives. He assembled, without loss of time, his army, hastened into Catalonia, and besieged Muniza, who attempted in vain to escape; and being pursued and arrested in his course, he put an end to his own existence. His captive wife was conducted to the conqueror. Abderame, struck with her beauty, sent her as a present to the Caliph Backham, whose love she attracted. A singular destiny this, which placed a Spanish Princess in the seraglio of the Sovereign of Damascus.

Not content with having punished Muniza, Abdarame passed the mountains, traversed Navarre, entered Guian, and besieged and took the city of Bourdeaux. Eudes, at the head of an army, attempted to arrest his progress, but was vanquished in a great battle, and every thing yielded to the arms of the Musulman. Abdarame pursued his route, laid waste the provinces of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poictou, marched triumphantly into Tourain, and did not stop until he came within sight of the standards of Charles Martel.

Charles marched to this battle, followed by the forces of France, of Austria, and of Burgundy, and leading into the field those veteran bands which had been accustomed to conquer under him. The Duke of Aquitain was in his camp : Charles forgot his injuries, and thought of nothing but their common danger. The peril became pressing :

pressing : the fate of France, of Germany, in fact, of the whole christian world, depended upon this battle. Abderame was a rival worthy the son of Pepin. Proud, like him, of his many victories, followed by an innumerable army, surrounded by veteran captains who had seen him always triumphant, he was also stimulated by a desire, which had existed for a long time, to subject, at length, to the Musulmans, the only country which they now wanted of the ancient Roman empire.

(A. D. 733.) The action was long and sanguinary. Abderame was slain : and this irreparable loss decided, beyond a doubt, the defeat of his army. The battle was fought at Tours ; and the historians of those times assure us, that there perished more than three hundred thousand men. This number is surely exaggerated ; but it is very likely that the Musulmans, having

penetrated nearly to the centre of France, and being pursued after their defeat, found great difficulty in escaping the sword of the conquerors and the vengeance of the people. That memorable battle, of which we have no detail, saved France from the yoke of the Musulmans, and was the termination of their grandeur. Since that period they endeavoured again to penetrate into France, and they possessed themselves of Avignon; but Charles Martel defeated them a second time, retook that town, drove them from Narbonne, and deprived them for ever of those hopes, with which they had been for such a length of time flattered.

After the death of Abderame, Spain was torn by the disputes of Abdoulmelek and Akbey: a third pretender arrived from Africa, and a fourth put himself at the head of an army. These factions multiplied;

plied, and the different parties often came to blows ; the chiefs were massacred, their towns were seized, and their provinces despoiled. The details of these events, differently reported by various historians, would excite but little interest in the present day.

The only truth which one can discover is, that in proportion as the mildness of the climate, and the mixture of the Spaniards with the Moors, had polished the manners of the latter, a new emigration of Africans would come to destroy the work of time, and to restore to their ancient brethren that savage ferocity, which seems to appertain to the African.

These civil wars having continued for more than twenty years, the Christians, who had retired into the Asturias, took advantage of them. Alphonso I. a descendant of and successor to Pelagus, followed

the steps of that hero. Making himself master of a portion of the province of Galicia and of Leon, he defeated the troops which had opposed him, and commenced, at this time, to form a petty state.

The Musulmans, occupied by their private quarrels, did not oppose the progress of Alphonso. After many crimes and a variety of conflicts, a person of the name of Joseph had elevated himself above his different rivals, and reigned at Cordova, when a memorable event took place in the East (A. D. 749, A. H. 134), which had a great influence on the affairs of Spain; and as it is here that the second epoch of the Moorish history commences, it becomes necessary to revert briefly to the history of the Caliphs.

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HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

IN

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK II.

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a great influence on the affairs of Spain;
and as it is now a second epoch of
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

THE FALLS OF THE WEST

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF
THE CALIPHS OF THE WEST
AND
KINGS OF CORDOVA.

Ann. Dom.	Ann. Dom.
755 Abderame I. Ommiade Prince.	1011 Hackem II. restored to the throne.
788 Hackem I.	1014 Suleiman restored to the throne.
796 Abdelazis el Hackem I.	
822 Abderame II. el Mouzaffer.	1016 Ali ben Hamoud.
	1017 Abderame IV.
852 Mohammed I. l'Emir.	1018 Casim.
886 Almouzir.	1021 Jahiah.
889 Abdoullah.	1022 Hackem III.
912 Abderame III	1024 Mohammed el Musterfi Billah.
961 Aboul Abbas el Hackem II.	1025 Abderame V.
976 Hackem II.	1025 Jahiah ben Ali.
1005 Mohammed el Mahadi, the usurper.	1026 Hackem IV.
1007 Suleiman.	1027 Jalmar ben Mohammed, last Caliph of Cordova.

CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of the History of the Caliphs of the West

....Disagreement of the Musulmans....The

Omiades lose the Caliphat....Cruelties exer-

cised against the Omiades....Abderame, a prince

of this race, arrives in Spain....Is proclaimed

Caliph of the East....His reign....Religion

and festivals of the Musulmans.

WE have seen the Arabs, under their three first Caliphs, Aboubekre, Omar, and Othman, after having rapidly conquered Syria, Persia, and Africa, preserving their ancient manners, their simplicity, their obedience to the successors of the Prophet, and their contempt for luxury and for riches. But what people could resist so much prosperity!

The

The conquerors very soon turned their arms against themselves ; they forgot the virtues which had rendered them invincible, and they demolished, with their own hands, the empire which they had founded.

(A. D. 655.) These misfortunes commenced with the assassination of Othman. Ali was nominated his successor : Ali, the friend, the companion, the adopted son of the Prophet ; Ali, rendered so dear to the Musulmans by his exploits, by the suavity of his manners, and by his being the husband of Fatima, the only daughter of Mahomet.

Moavia, Governor of Syria, refused to acknowledge Ali, and guided by the counsel of the experienced Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, caused himself to be proclaimed Caliph at Damascus. The Arabs divided themselves into two parties ;

parties ; those of Medina sustained Ali, and those of Syria supported Moavia. The former took the name of *Alides*, whilst the latter called themselves *Omiades*, from the name of one of the ancestors of Moavia, who called himself Omiah. This was the origin of the famous schism, which separates, to this day, the Turks and the Persians.

Ali conquered Moavia, but took no advantage of his victory, and in a short time afterwards was assassinated.

Three Karagites (a set of Musûlmans more fanatic than others) seeing their empire disturbed by the quarrels of Ali, Moavia, and Amrou, conceived that they could perform an action pleasing to God, and likely to give peace to their country, by assassinating, at the same time, the three rivals. One of these proceeded to Damascus, and wounded the usurper

Moavia

Moavia in the back ; but the wound did not prove mortal. The one who pledged himself to dispatch Amrou, poignarded, in mistake, one of the friends of that rebel. The third determined to strike Ali as he entered the mosque, and the virtuous Caliph was the only one who did not escape the poignards of those assassins.*

After the death of Ali his party grew weak. His children made some ineffectual efforts towards its reanimation ; but the Omiades, in the midst of outrages, revolts, and civil wars, remained at Damascus, in possession of the Caliphate. It is in the reign of one of these princes, Valid I., that we have seen the Arabs extending their conquests in the east, as far as the Ganges, and in the west,

* Marigny, Hist. des Arabes, Tome II.

west, to the Atlantic Ocean. The Omiades were nevertheless, for the most part, weak princes; but their generals were experienced, and the Musulman soldiers had not as yet degenerated from their ancient valour.

(A.D. 752.) After having occupied the throne during the space of ninety-three years, Mervan II. the last of the Omiade Caliphs, was vanquished by Abdalla, of the race of the Abbassides, who derived their origin from Mahomet, as did the Omiades. Mervan lost the empire and his life. This Mervan was called Al-hema, that is to say, the Ass; a surname which has no disreputable tendency with these people, owing to the peculiar estimation in which those indefatigable and patient animals are held in eastern nations. Ari-

the interesting episode of Isabella of Galicia.

Whilst Mervan was in Egypt he became possessed of a Christian nun to whom he was about to offer violence. The virtuous female, to preserve her purity, promised to discover to him an ointment which would render him invulnerable, and she offered to allow its efficacy to be proved upon her own person. After having applied the ointment to her neck, she desired the Caliph to strike with all his strength, and the barbarian cut off her head.*

(A.D. 752.) Aboul-Abbas, nephew to Abdalla, was elevated to the throne of the Caliphs, and commenced that dynasty of the Abbassides, so celebrated in the east for their love of the sciences, which

* D'Herbelot, Bibliotheq. Oriental.

which included Haroun el Raschid, Almaman, and of the Barmecides.

Haroun el Raschid, that is to say *Haroun the Just*, obtained great glory in the east, owing, no doubt, in a great measure, to the protection he afforded to learned men, and which his elevated title seems to testify. His victories and his love for the sciences, evinced that Haroun was a man of no ordinary abilities; but his cruelty towards the Barmecides tarnished the lustre of his great actions.

That illustrious family, sprung from the ancient Kings of Persia, had rendered the most signal services to the Caliph, and gained the love and respect of the whole empire.

Giaffar Barmecide, who was considered the most virtuous of the Musulmans and the best writer of his age, was

Vizir to Haroun. He conceived a violent attachment for the beautiful Abassa, sister to the Caliph, and the princess loved Giaffar. The Caliph, who entertained for his sister a regard of a peculiar nature, saw with concern this attachment ; and when he consented to their nuptials, with a capricious cruelty, of which an eastern despot could alone be capable, he demanded from the enamoured Giaffar an oath, that he should never avail himself of the privileges of a husband. The unfortunate man subscribed to this obligation, and was for a long time faithful to his promise. Unfortunately Abassa, whose taste and talent for poetry was highly celebrated, wrote one day to her husband some interesting verses, expressive of her love, and of the exquisite torture she endured ; Giaffar could not contain himself any longer ;

longer ; he saw his wife and forgot his oath. In a little time afterwards, Abassa was obliged to take precautions to conceal her pregnancy from her brother. In this she succeeded, and was secretly delivered of a son, which she sent to be nursed at Mecca.

Some years after this event, Haroun went to make his pilgrimage to that city, and learned from a perfidious slave all the circumstances attending Giaffar's perjury. The atrocious Haroun (it is with difficulty we could believe it, if the affair were not known over the whole east,) caused his sister to be thrown into a pit, cut off the head of Giaffar, and ordered all the relations of the unfortunate Barmecide to be put to death.

His father, Jahiah, a venerable old man, adored by the whole empire, which

he had governed a long time, met his death with a heroic constancy. About to die, he wrote these few words to the Caliph :—“ The accused pass first; the
 “ accuser will follow in a little time.
 “ We shall both appear before a judge
 “ whose proceedings cannot err.”

The implacable Haroun carried his folly so far, as to forbid the people to speak of the Barmecides. One Musulman, named Mundir, dared to defy this obligation, and publicly pronounced their eulogium. The Caliph sent in search of him, and threatened him with punishment. “ You may cause me to be silent,” answered Mundir, “ by putting me to
 “ death, and you have no other means ;
 “ but you cannot silence the recollection
 “ the whole empire cherishes of these
 “ virtuous ministers. The very ruins of
 “ the monuments which they have erect-
 “ ed,

“ed, and which you destroy, declare
“their glory.”

Haroun, touched with these words, ordered him to receive a plate of gold ; on taking which, Mundir cried out, “be-
“hold, even yet, one of the benefactions
“of the Barmecides.” Such was the famous Haroun, who bore the name of the just.

Almaman, his son, had no surname, and was the most virtuous, the most sensible, and the best of men. We may form an idea of him from the following anecdote.—When his vizirs pressed him to put to death one of his relations, who caused himself to be proclaimed Caliph and had carried arms against him, Almaman would never consent, and told them with tears in his eyes : “Ah ! if the
“world knew what pleasure it affords
“me to pardon, all those who have of-

“fended me would come to expose their faults to my view.” This adorable prince caused the sciences and the fine arts to flourish, and the Musulmans esteem his reign the most splendid epoch of their glory.*

The Abbasides enjoyed the Caliphat for five centuries ; but were at last deprived of it by the Tartar sons of Gengis Khan, after having seen established in Egypt other Caliphs, entitled Fatimates, because they pretend to be descended from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet.

The empire of the Musulmans was destroyed ; and the people re-entering into the Arabias, are at this day nearly the same as they were before the time of Mahomet. A detail of these events is

* Marigny.

is thus premised, because, henceforward, the Peninsula will have nothing to do with the affairs of the east.

When the cruel Abdalla had placed his nephew, Aboul-Abbas, on the throne of the Caliphs, he formed the horrible design of exterminating all the Omiades. These princes were very numerous. Amongst the Musulmans, where polygamy is permitted, and where a great number of children is considered as a favour from heaven, it is not at all rare to count many thousands belonging to the same family.

Abdalla, despairing to be able to extirpate the race of his enemies, whom terror had dispersed, promised a general amnesty to all the Omiades who would deliver themselves up to him, and these unfortunate people, trusting to his oath, came

came to seek for pardon at his feet ; but the monster having seen them assembled, had them surrounded with armed men, who massacred them before his eyes. After this abominable carnage, Abdalla gave orders, that the bloody bodies should be ranged by the side of each other, that they should be covered with a platform and Persian carpets, and over this horrible table he treated his officers with a magnificent entertainment.

One shudders at reading these details,* but they serve to give an idea of the character and the manners of these conquerors.

One Omiade alone escaped. This prince, who called himself Abderame, a wanderer and a fugitive, reached Egypt,

* Marigny.

Egypt, and concealed himself in the desert.

The Musulmans of Spain, faithful to the Omiades, although their Governor Joseph had acknowledged the Abbasides, were no sooner apprised that there existed in Africa a branch of that illustrious race, than they secretly sent deputies to offer him their crown.

Abderame foresaw the contests which he would inevitably have to sustain ; but born with a great mind, which now raised itself from the school of adversity, he did not hesitate. (A. D. 755.) He crossed the Mediterranean, arrived in Spain, gained the hearts of his new subjects, assembled an army, entered Seville, and marched rapidly to Cordova, the capital of the Musulman states.

(A. D. 759.) Joseph, in the name
of

of the Abbassides, attempted in vain to resist him, but was conquered. Cordova was taken, a number of other towns shared the same fate, and Abderame was not only acknowledged King of Spain, but was proclaimed Caliph of the East; and from this moment, Spain, separating from the great empire of the Arabs, formed a powerful state in itself.

Abderame I. established at Cordova the foundation of its new grandeur, but was not suffered to remain long in peace. The revolts excited by the Abbassides, the wars with the Kings of Leon, and the irruptions of the French into Catalonia, occupied him unceasingly.

Historians are not agreed as to the time in which Charlemagne went into Spain.

Spain. It appears, however, that it was in the reign of Abderame I. that this Emperor passed the Pyrenees, took Pampeluna and Saragossa, and was vanquished on his retreat, in the defiles of Roncesvalles: places so celebrated in romance by the death of Roland, and in our days by the splendid victories of the immortal Wellington.

Abderame, by his valour and activity, triumphed over his enemies. He maintained himself on the throne with glory; he merited the fair surname of the just, and cherished, nay cultivated himself, the fine arts, in the midst of troubles and of dangers. It was him who first established the schools at Cordova for the study of astronomy, the mathematics, medicine, and grammar. Abderame himself composed verses, and
passed

passed for one of the most eloquent men of his age : he embellished and fortified his capital, constructed a superb palace with delightful gardens, and commenced a grand mosque, which excites, even to this day, the admiration of travellers.

This monument of magnificence was not completed until the reign of Hackem, the son and successor of Abderame. The Spaniards have preserved only a part of this building, which nevertheless is six hundred feet in length and two hundred and fifty in breadth. More than three hundred columns of alabaster, jasper and marble supported this edifice, and it was entered, in former times, by twenty-four gates of bronze covered with sculpture in gold, and four thousand seven hundred lamps illuminated every night

night this magnificent fabric.* It was here that the Caliphs of Cordova used to go to pray for the people on Friday; the day devoted to religion by Mahomet: hither the Musulmans of Spain betook themselves in pilgrimage, as those of the East did to the temple at Mecca: here were celebrated, with the grandest solemnities, the festivals of the great and the little Beiram, which corresponds with the passover of the Jews; that of the renewal of the year, and of the Miloud, or the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet. Each of these festivals lasted eight days, during which time all labour ceased; the Musulmans sent each other presents, paid and received visits, sacrificed

* Cardonne, Hist. of Africa and Spain; Colmenar, Délices d'Espagne; Du Perron, Voyage d'Espagne; Swinburn's Letters on Spain, &c.

ficed their victims, and families reuniting, forgot their differences, made mutual vows of eternal concord, and gave themselves up to the enjoyment of every pleasure which the laws allowed. At night the city was illuminated, the streets were strewed with flowers, and the promenades and public places resounded with the clangour of harps, of tambourines, and hautboys. In fine, the more to celebrate these festivals, the rich were prodigal in their charitable donations, and the benedictions of the poor were chaunted in unison with the songs of joy.

Abderame, educated in the East, first introduced into Spain a taste for these splendid festivals. Uniting in his person, in quality of Caliph, the rank of royalty with the power of a pontiff, he regulated those

those ceremonies, and caused them to be celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence of the Sovereign of Damascus.

Although an enemy to christianity, and counting a great number of Christians amongst his subjects, he did not persecute them, but he deprived the cities of their bishops and the churches of their pastors. He encouraged marriages between the Moors and the Spaniards, and did more mischief to the Christian religion by this prudent *tolerance*, than he would have done by the most rigorous cruelty. In this reign, the successors of Pelagus* retired to the Asturias; and already divided amongst themselves, were forced to submit to the shameful tribute of one hundred young
G virgins :

* Aurelius and Mauregat.



virgins : Abderame would not give peace on any other terms. Master of the entire of Spain, from Catalonia to the two seas, he died after thirty years of glory (A. D. 788), leaving the crown to his son Hackem, the third of his eleven children.

CHAPTER VII.

Civil Wars amongst the Moors The Reigns of
 Hackem I, of Aboulazis, and of Abderame II
 The fine Arts cultivated at Cordova Reign of
 Abderame III.

AFTER the death of Abderame, the empire of the Musulmans was disturbed by revolts and by wars between the new Caliph, his brothers, his uncles, and the other princes of the blood royal. These wars are inevitable in a despotic government. Where the right of succession to the throne is not regulated by any law, it is sufficient for the pretender to be of the royal race ; and as almost all the Caliphs left a prodigious number of children, each of these princes formed his party, established himself in some town,

declared himself sovereign it it, and took up arms against the Caliph.

It is that crowd of petty states, which elevated themselves, and were either annihilated or established by each succeeding reign, and the great number of conquered kings, either deposed or strangled, which renders the history of the Musulmans in Spain so difficult to arrange and so monotonous to readers.

Hackem, and after him his son Abdelazis-el-Hackem, maintained themselves on the throne in spite of eternal dissensions. The former finished the beautiful mosque commenced by Abderame, and carried his arms into France, where his generals penetrated as far as Narbonne: the latter, less fortunate, contended with the Spaniards and his revolted subjects with various success, and dying in the midst

midst of troubles, was succeeded by his son Abderame. (A.D. 822.)

Abderame II. was a great prince ; yet his reign was the epoch, wherein the Christians began to balance the power of the Musulmans, whose lasting dissensions they had laboured to profit by. Alphonso the chaste, king of the Asturias, a politic and valiant monarch, had augmented his estates, and refused to pay the dishonourable tribute enforced by Abderame I. Ramirez, the successor to Alphonso, supported this independence, and defeated the Musulmans in many engagements. Navarre became a kingdom, and Arragon had its own sovereign, and assumed a form of government, in which the rights of the people were respected. The governors of Catalonia, then subject to the kings of France, took advantage of the weakness of Louis le

Débonnaire, to render themselves independent. All the northern states of Spain at length declared themselves enemies to the Musulmans, and the south became a prey to the eruptions of the Normans.

Abderame defended himself against all his adversaries, and merited, by his warlike talents, the surname of *Elmou-zaffar*, which signifies the *Victorious*. In the midst of civil wars, and encumbered with the cares of government, he encouraged the fine arts, embellished his capital with a new mosque, and caused a superb aqueduct to be erected, in which the water was conducted through canals of lead, and was furnished in abundance to the whole city. Solicitous to attach to his court poets and philosophers, he frequently conversed with them, and cultivating himself those talents which

he

he encouraged in others, all the elegancies of taste seemed to be united in his enlightened mind. He invited the famous musician, Ali-Zeriab, to come from the East unto Spain, where being detained by his favours, he formed that celebrated school, the pupils of which have since been the delight of all Asia.

The academy of music, founded at Cordova by Ali-Zeriab, produced the famous Mousali, whom the people in the East regard as their first musician. Their music did not consist, as with us, in a “concord of sweet sounds” from different instruments, but simply in a soft and tender air, which the musician sung, and accompanied with a lute. Sometimes they united a number of voices and lutes together, to perform the same air in unison. This was, and is still sufficient to gratify a people, passionately fond of
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poetry,

poetry, and whose first object, when they hear a voice, is to understand the meaning of the verses which are chaunted. This Mousali, who was educated by Ali Zeriab at Cordova, became at last, by his talents, the favourite of Haroun-al-Raschid. It is said that this Caliph, having quarrelled with a favourite named Mariah, fell into a state of melancholy, which occasioned apprehensions for his life. Giaffar the Barmecide, his grand vizier, prayed of the poet Abbas ben Ahnaf to compose some verses on this quarrel, which were sung by Mousali before the Caliph, who was so much moved by the sentiments of the poet and the tones of the musician, that he went directly on his knees to his mistress and was reconciled. Mariah rewarded each of these composers with ten thousand drachms of gold, and the Caliph,

not

not to be outdone in liberality, ordered each of them to receive twenty thousand, which amounts to a sum of about two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our money.*

In fine, during the reign of Abderame, Cordova became the abode of the arts, of the sciences, and of refined pleasures, The ferocity of the Musulmans gave place to a degree of gallantry, of which the Caliph set the example. The following anecdote will serve to shew the affability and generosity of his disposition.

One day a favourite slave had the effrontery to fall out with her master, and retiring to her apartment, swore that she would see her door built up sooner than open it to the Caliph. The chief of

* Cardonne, Hist. of Africa.

of the eunuchs, terrified at these words, which he conceived to be blasphemy, hastened to prostrate himself at the feet of the Prince of the faithful, and reported to him the horrible purpose of the rebellious slave. Abderame, smiling, ordered him to cause to be built before the door of this favourite a wall composed of pieces of silver, and promised not to break the barrier until the slave was willing to demolish it, in order to possess herself of the spoil. History informs us, that, on the same evening, the Caliph entered very easily into the chamber of his appeased favourite.*

(A. D. 852.) Abderame II. left by his different wives forty-five sons and forty-one daughters. Mahommed, the eldest of his sons, succeeded him; but his

* Cardonne.

his reign, as well as those of his successors, Almouzir and Abdalla, offer nothing more, during the space of sixty years, than a tissue of troubles, civil wars, and revolts of the great towns; the governors endeavouring to make themselves independent, and Alphonso the Great taking advantage of these dissensions to strengthen his dominions. The Normans, on the other hand, committed fresh depredations in Andalusia. Toledo, always hostile in spite of repeated castigations, had its own king, and Saragossa imitated its example. The authority of the Caliphs was despised, and their empire, tottering to its fall, appeared on the brink of ruin, when Abderame III, nephew of Abdalla, mounted the throne of Cordova (A. D. 912), and restored, for some time, its pomp and magnificence.

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This prince, whose name, so dear to the Musulmans, afforded a happy presage of future successes, took the title of *Emir al Mumenin*, which signifies *Prince of the true believers*, and commenced his reign with victories. The rebels, which his predecessors had not the power to reduce, were defeated, the factious dispersed, and order and tranquillity were re-established.

Being attacked, in a short time, by the Christians, Abderame besought the support of the Musulmans of Africa, and sustained a tedious war against the King of Leon and the Count of Castile, who deprived him of the city of Madrid, which was of little importance at this period. Often defeated, sometimes the conqueror, but always great and formidable, he laboured to repair his losses and to profit by his advantages. A profound politician

tician and an experienced warrior, he encouraged the divisions which existed amongst the Spanish princes, carried his arms twelve times into the very centre of their states, and having created a maritime force, possessed himself of Seldgemesse and Ceuta on the coast of Africa.

CHAPTER VIII.

Embassy of the Greek Emperor . . . Magnificence
and Gallantry of the Musulmans . . . Riches of
the Caliphs of Cordova . . . Fine Arts cultivated.

NOTWITHSTANDING the eternal wars which occupied him during his reign, the enormous expenses which it must have cost him to support his armies, his fleets, and the succours which he subsidized in Africa, Abderame exhibited at his court a degree of luxury and magnificence, the detail of which would appear to us fabulous, if it were not attested by the most authentic historians.

The Greek Emperor, Constantine IX, son of Leon, wishing to oppose to the Caliphs of Bagdad, of the race of Abbassides, an enemy capable of resisting them,

them, sent ambassadors to Cordova to negotiate an alliance with him. Abderame, flattered, on his part, to see Christians coming from such a distance to seek his assistance, displayed, on that occasion, the height of Asiatic pomp. He sent as far as Jaen to receive the ambassadors ; a numerous corps of cavalry, magnificently dressed, attended them on the road to Cordova ; a body of infantry, the most brilliant ever seen, filled the avenues of the palace. The court yards were covered with the most beautiful carpets from Persia and Egypt, and the walls were hung with cloth of gold. The Caliph, on a brilliant throne, surrounded by his family, by his vizirs, and a crowd of courtiers, received them in a gallery, where all his riches were displayed. The Hadjeb, an officer who, with the Moors, holds an office corresponding with the
ancient

ancient mayor of the palace in France, introduced the ambassadors, who, dazzled with this splendid reception, prostrated themselves before Abderame, and presented to him the letter of Constantine, written on blue parchment, in letters of gold of the Greek alphabet, and enclosed in a gold box. The Caliph signed the treaty, loaded the envoys of the Emperor with presents, and ordered them to be accompanied by a numerous suite to the very walls of Constantinople.

This same Abderame, although unceasingly occupied by war and politics, was all his life in love with one of his slaves, named Zehra, a name which signifies a *flower, the ornament of the world*, and built for her a town, about two miles from Cordova, to which he gave the name of Zehra. That town, at present destroyed, was situated at the foot of
lofty

lofty mountains, whence flowed numerous streams of refreshing water, which wandering through the streets diffused around a most grateful coolness, and formed, in the centre of the public places, abundant fountains.

The houses, all built according to the same model, surmounted with platforms, were adorned with gardens filled with groupes of orange trees, and the statue of the beautiful slave * was distinguished over the gate of this residence of love.

All

* Mahomet, from a hatred to idolatry, prohibited his people from imitating in any way living figures ; but this precept was never well observed. The Caliphs of the East caused to be stamped on their coins their likenesses, as we can see on those medals which are preserved in the cabinets of the curious : one side represents the head of the Caliph, the other bears his name and some passage from the Koran. In the palaces of Cordova and of Grenada,

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and

All these beauties were outdone by the palace of the favourite. Abderame, allied to the Greek Emperors, demanded of them the most experienced of their architects; and the Sovereign of Constantinople, at that time the abode of the fine arts, exerted himself on the occasion, and sent with them one hundred and forty columns of granite, the most beautiful he could collect. Independently of these magnificent columns, we can count more than twelve hundred others of Spanish and Italian marble. The walls of the saloon, which was called the Caliph, were covered with ornaments of gold; and numerous figures of animals, of the same metal, poured out water into a basin

and other edifices, there are many figures of animals, and a great deal of sculpture in marble; but the objects represented are generally whimsical and fantastic.

a basin of alabaster, over which was suspended that famous pearl, which the Emperor Leon had bestowed on the Caliph as an inestimable treasure. Historians * assert that, in the pavilion where the favourite passed the evenings with Abderame, the ceiling, adorned with gold and polished steel, was incrustated with precious stones ; and that, in the midst of the splendour produced by lights reflected from one hundred crystal lustres, a sheaf of living quicksilver jetted up in a basin of alabaster. This metal, when struck by the rays of the sun, is said to have exhibited a brilliancy which the eye could not sustain.

It is difficult, no doubt, to give credit to such accounts, and we shall be disposed to believe that we are reading ori-

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* Novaïri, Hist. Omiadarum.

ental tales, and perhaps that these memoirs are taken from the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*; but all these facts and the whole of these details are attested by Arabic writers; related by Monsieur Cardonne, who studied and collected them with great care; are confirmed by Mr. Swinburne, an English author and traveller, not at all credulous, and a careful observer. It must be admitted, that these monuments, this pageantry and pomp, resemble nothing we know of, and therefore that the greater portion of mankind, measuring their faith by their acquired knowledge, will believe very little of these things; but the details which we find in authentic authors,* of the luxury and magnificence of the Sovereigns

* Bernier, Sir Thomas Roe, Marco Paulo, Duhalde, &c.

reigns of Asia, are not less astonishing : and I would ask, if it should so happen, that by an earthquake the Pyramids of Egypt were destroyed, would I, who have seen, measured and explored them, be believed in giving their exact dimensions ?

The writers, from whom these details are taken, relate also the sums which it cost to build this palace and the town of Zehra, which amounted to three hundred thousand *dinars* of gold (about sixty millions of our money) per annum, and it occupied a space of time of nearly twenty-five years to complete the work.

To these immense expenses it is necessary to add the maintenance of a seraglio, in which his wives, his concubines, his slaves, together with his black and white eunuchs, amounted to the number of six thousand three hundred

persons. The officers of the palace of the Caliph, and the horses set apart for himself, were in equal proportion. Twelve thousand horsemen composed his guard alone; and if one reflects that Abderame, in a state of continual war with the Spanish princes, was obliged to keep on foot a numerous army, to maintain a marine, to purchase frequent stipendiaries from Africa, and to fortify those places on the frontiers which were continually menaced, it is difficult to conceive how his revenues could have been sufficient. But his resources were immense, and the Sovereign of Cordova was perhaps the richest and most powerful potentate in Europe. An idea of this opulence may be formed from the present which Abderame received from one of his subjects, named Abdoulmalek-ben-Cheia, who

who was elevated to the dignity of grand vizir. This consisted of

Four hundred pounds of pure gold ;

The value of four hundred and twenty thousand sequins in ingots of silver ;

Four hundred and twenty pounds of the wood of aloes ;

Five hundred ounces of ambergris ;

Three hundred ounces of camphor ;

Thirty pieces of drapery of gold and silk, so costly, that none but the Caliphs had the privilege of wearing them ;

Ten furs of the sable or martin of Khorassan, and one hundred others of more common martins ;

Forty-eight trailing housings of cloth of gold of Bagdad ;

Four thousand pounds of silk ;

Thirty Persian carpets of superior beauty ;

Eight hundred armours of steel for
the horses of war ;

A thousand bucklers and one hundred
thousand arrows ;

Fifteen Arabian led horses, adorned
as richly as those of the Caliph, and one
hundred other Arabian horses, more
common, for the suite of the prince ;

Twenty mules, with their saddles and
trailing housings ;

Forty young boys and twenty young
girls of exquisite beauty, and dressed
most superbly.

The Vizir accompanied this present
with a copy of verses, in which the
praises of him to whom it was offered,
and the protestations of the zeal and the
devotion of him who offered it, were not
forgotten. The present and the poem
pleased the Caliph extremely, and con-
tributed

tributed not a little to the favour which the Vizir enjoyed during his administration; and the prince, as a recompence, assigned him a revenue of one hundred thousand pieces of gold.

Abderame possessed Portugal, Andalusia, the kingdoms of Grenada, Murcia, Valencia, and the greatest portion of New Castile; that is to say, all the most beautiful provinces in Spain. These provinces were, at this time, extremely populous, and the Musulmans had carried agriculture to the highest pitch of perfection. Historians assure us, that on the borders of the Guadalquivir there stood twelve thousand villages, and that a traveller could not advance for one quarter of an hour without meeting a hamlet. The estates of the Caliph contained four score great towns, three hundred of the second order, and an
infinite

infinite number of country villages. Cordova, the capital, enclosed within its walls two hundred thousand houses and nine hundred public baths. All these have suffered a great change since the expulsion of the Musulmans, the reason of which is obvious; for the Musulmans, conquerors of the Spaniards, did not persecute the conquered; while, on the other hand, the Spaniards, who conquered them, not only persecuted but deprived them of their possessions.

It is calculated that the revenue of the Caliphs of Cordova amounted to twelve millions forty-five thousand dinars of gold, which amounts to more than one hundred and thirty millions of our money. Independently of this gold, a number of the imposts were paid in the produce of the land; and amongst a people laborious and prone to agricultural

tural pursuits, and possessing a country the most fertile in the world, these riches must have been incalculable. The mines of gold and of silver, at all times common in Spain, were another source of wealth. Commerce too, that fruitful tree of treasure, which enriches at the same time the sovereign and the people, had many branches. The silks, the oils, the sugar, the cochineal, the iron, and the wool of Spain, were peculiarly estimable at that period ; to which may be added ambergris, amber, the loadstone, antimony, the marcassite stone, rock crystal, sulphur, saffron, and ginger ; the coral collected on the shores of Andalusia, and the pearl fisheries on those of Catalonia ; the rubies, of which they had discovered two mines, one at Malaga, the other at Beja. All these productions of the earth were transported
into

into Africa, Egypt, and the East. The Emperor of Constantinople, always a necessary ally to the Caliphs of Cordova, favoured these different branches of commerce ; and the immense extent of coast, and the vicinity of Africa, Italy and France, contributed to render them more flourishing.

The arts, the offspring of commerce, and which nourish their parent, added an unprecedented degree of celebrity to the brilliant reign of Abderame. The palaces, the gardens which he constructed, the magnificent entertainments at his court, attracting from all parts architects and artists, Cordova was the centre of industry and the asylum of the sciences. Geometry, astronomy, chymistry, and medicine, had here those celebrated schools, which produced, in the succeeding age, Averroes, and Abenzoar. The
poets

poets, the philosophers, and the Arabian physicians, were so celebrated, that Alphonso the Great, King of the Asturias, desirous to entrust the education of his son Ordogno to men capable of instructing a prince, was constrained, in spite of the difference of religion, in spite of the hatred the Christians bore to the Musulmans, to call to his assistance two Moorish preceptors ; and one of the successors of this Alphonso, Sancho the Large, King of Leon, when attacked by a dropsy, which every one considered as fatal, did not hesitate to go to Cordova to live with Abderame his enemy, in order to be relieved by his physicians, and was cured.* This singular anecdote does as much honour to the skill of the Arabian

* Mariana, Ferreras, Garibai, &c. Hist. d'Espagne.

Arabian physicians, as to the generosity of the Caliph, and to the confidence of the Christian king.

Such was the state of Cordova during the reign of Abderame III. who occupied the throne more than fifty years; and must we not acknowledge that it was with glory?

But nothing will prove, perhaps, how much this prince was above other kings, more than a writing which was found amongst his papers after his death, and which was written with his own hand: it is as follows :

“ Fifty years have elapsed since I be-
 “ came Caliph. Riches, honours, and
 “ pleasures, I have enjoyed in abund-
 “ ance, and have exhausted them all.
 “ The kings, my rivals, esteemed, dread-
 “ ed, and envied me. All those things
 “ coveted by mankind, were bestowed by
 “ heaven

“ heaven upon me, with a prodigal hand.
 “ In this long space of apparent felicity,
 “ I have calculated the number of days,
 “ in which I have found myself happy ;
 “ the number amounts to fourteen !!!
 “ — Mortals, hence appreciate the
 “ value of splendour, of worldly enjoy-
 “ ments, and even of life itself.”

CHAPTER XI.

Reign of Aboul Abbas el Hackem Jurisprudence
 of the Musulmans Authority of fathers of
 families, and old men Instance of the justice
 of Hackem Reign of Hackem II Victory
 of Almanzor Troubles at Cordova Con-
 clusion of the Caliphiat.

ABOUL ABBAS EL HACKEM, the
 eldest son of Abderame III. and who
 also took the title of Emir el Mumenin,
 succeeded to that distinguished monarch,
 and his coronation was solemnized with
 great pomp at the town of Zehra. The
 new Caliph received the oath of fidelity
 from the chiefs of the Scythian guard, a
 formidable and numerous body of fo-
 reigners, which Abderame had created.

The parents, the brothers of Hackem,
 the

the vizirs and their chief, the hadjeb, the white and black eunuchs, the cuirassiers of the guard, swore to obey the king ; and the ceremony was closed by the funeral of Abderame, whose body was conveyed from Cordova to the tomb of his ancestors.

Hackem, less a warrior than his father, but equally prudent and politic, enjoyed more tranquillity : his reign was a reign of justice and of peace. The valour and the vigilance of Abderame had extinguished rebellion. The Christian kings, divided amongst each other, did not think of disturbing the Musulmans ; the treaty concluded with Castile and Leon was violated but once ; and the Caliph, who commanded his army in person, conducted the campaign with glory and took many Spanish towns. During the remainder of his reign, Hackem applied

I himself

himself entirely to render his subjects happy, to cultivate the sciences, to collect in his palace an immense number of books, and above all to make the laws respected. These laws were simple and not numerous.

It does not appear that there existed among the Musulmans any code of civil law, but that which is connected with their religion. Their jurisprudence amounted to little more than the application of the principles contained in the Koran. The Caliph, as supreme head of the religion, was considered best qualified to interpret the laws, but did not dare to infringe them. Once a week, or oftener, at a public audience, he attended to the complaints of his subjects, examined the accused, and without quitting the tribunal, caused the guilty to be punished. The governors nominated by
him

him to the towns and the provinces commanded the military, collected the public revenue, superintended the police, and were answerable for any misconduct which occurred in their governments. Public characters, conversant in the laws, performed the functions of notaries, and gave a juridical form to those acts, which served to secure property. When a litigation arose, the magistrates, called *Cadis*, respected by the people and by the sovereign, were empowered to administer justice. These law-suits were never tedious; advocates and attornies were unknown; there was no expense, no chicane; the parties pleaded their own cause, and the decrees of the *cadi* were executed on the spot. Criminal jurisprudence was but little more complicated; it enforced, on almost all occasions, the law of retaliation, which was

ordained by the Prophet. The rich, it is true, could recompence with money the blood which they had spilled ; but it was necessary to this, that the parents of the person slain should consent. The Caliph himself would not attempt to refuse giving up the head of one of his children, guilty of homicide, if it were obstinately demanded.

This code, which was so simple, could not have been sufficient to answer every purpose ; but the supreme authority which the fathers of families enjoyed over their children, and husbands over their wives, supplied those laws which were wanting. The Arabs had preserved with their ancient patriarchal manners, that respect, that submission, that passive obedience to the head of the family. Each father of a family enjoyed, in his own house, almost all the authority of a Caliph :

Caliph : he judged, without appeal, the quarrels amongst his women and his children ; he punished severely the slightest fault ; and could even inflict death on those who were guilty of particular crimes. Age served to consolidate his authority, and an old man was considered sacred and dignified. His presence restrained disorder, and the most volatile children became demure, put on an air of submission, and conceived that they saw a magistrate in the aspect of a man adorned with grey hairs.

The influence of these manners, which operated much more powerfully than the laws, sustained itself for a long time at Cordova, and the prudent Hackem took care not to diminish it. One anecdote of him is worthy recording.

A poor woman of Zehra possessed a

little field contiguous to the gardens of the Caliph. Hackem wished to erect a pavilion on this field, and sent a proposal to the woman to sell it; this she positively refused, declaring she would never part with the inheritance derived from her parents. Hackem, no doubt, was not informed of the woman's resistance to his wishes; for the intendant of the gardens, a suitable minister to a despotic king, possessed himself of the field by force, and the pavilion was built. The poor woman, in despair, betook herself to Cordova, recounted her misfortune to the Cadi Bechir, and consulted with him on the best steps to be taken. The cadi thought that the prince of the true believers, had no more right than another to possess himself of property which did not belong to him; and occupied his mind in devising how to re-
mind

mind him of this truth, which the best of princes will sometimes forget.

One day, when Hackem, surrounded by his courtiers, was sitting in the beautiful pavilion which was built upon the poor woman's ground, he saw coming towards him the Cadi Bechir, mounted on his ass and carrying in his hand an empty sack. The Caliph astonished, demanded what were his wishes. "Prince of the faithful," answered Bechir, "I come to demand of you permission to fill this sack with the earth which you now tread under your feet." Hackem consented with pleasure, and the cadi filled his sack with the earth. When it was full he left it standing, and approaching the Caliph, besought him to complete his bounty, by assisting him in placing the sack upon his ass. Hackem, amused with the proposition, accepted it,

it, and proceeded to raise the sack ; but being scarcely able to move it he let it fall, laughing, and complaining of its enormous weight.—“ Prince of the faithful,” said Bechir directly, with an imposing gravity ; “ that sack, which “ you have found so heavy, contains “ only a small portion of the ground “ usurped by you from one of your subjects ; how will you sustain then the “ weight of that earth, when you shall “ appear before the grand judge, charged “ with that iniquity ?” Hackem, struck with the image ran to embrace the cadi ; gave him his thanks, acknowledged his fault, and restored to the poor woman the ground of which he had deprived her, and joined to it, as a gift, the pavilion and all its riches.

A despot, capable of one such action, could not be surpassed, unless by the
cadi,

cadi, whose humanity and sagacity occasioned its performance. Hackem died after a reign of fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

Hackem was but an infant when he mounted the throne, and his infancy continued all his life. During, and after his minority, a celebrated Musulman, named Mahomet Almanzor, invested with the important office of *hadjeb*, governed the state with glory. This Almanzor, who united to the genius of a statesman the talents of a great general, this Almanzor, the most formidable and the most fatal enemy who had hitherto contended with the Christians, reigned for twenty-six years under the name of the indolent Hackem. He carried his arms not less than fifty-two times into Castile or the Asturias; he took and sacked the towns of Barcelona
and

and Leon, and penetrating as far as Compostella, destroyed that famous church and brought its spoils to Cordova. He restored, for some time, to the Arabs, their former strength and energy, and caused the weak Caliph his master, who during this time reposed himself in the midst of his women and his pleasures, to be respected throughout the whole of Spain.

This splendour was the last which illuminated the empire of the Omiades. The Kings of Leon and Navarre, and the Count of Castile, united themselves in resistance to the formidable Almanzor. A battle was fought (A.D. 998), not far from Medina Celi, which was obstinately contested, bloody, and for a long time doubtful. The Musulmans, terrified at the loss which they had sustained, took to flight after the battle, and

and Almanzor, whom fifty years of victories had persuaded that he was invincible, died of grief at this first reverse of fortune. With this great man fell the fortunes of the Arabs; and from that day the Spaniards began to aggrandize themselves on their ruin.

The sons of Almanzor, successively, supplied the place of their illustrious father; but though they inherited his power they did not inherit his talents, and factions began to revive. A relation of the Caliph took up arms, and possessed himself of the person of Hackem (A.D. 1005); whom, however, he dared not to strangle, but shutting him up in prison, circulated a report of his death.

It was about this time that the famous adventure of the seven children of Lara occurred,

occurred, so celebrated by historians and the Spanish writers of romance.

These young warriors were seven brothers, sons of Gonsalve Gustos, a near relation to the first Counts of Castile and Lords of Salas de Lara. The brother-in-law to Gonsalve Gustos, called Ruy Velasquez, excited by the horrible councils of his wife Lambra, who pretended to have received some offence from the youngest of the seven brothers, meditated the most atrocious vengeance. He commenced by sending their father, Gonsalve, on an embassy to the King of Cordova, with private letters, in which he prayed the Caliph to put to death that enemy to the Musulmans. The Caliph, unwilling to commit that crime, contented himself with retaining Gonsalve in prison; during which time the perfidious Velasquez, under the pretext of going

going to attack the Musulmans, conducted his seven nephews into an ambuscade, where the enemy having surrounded them, they all, after performing prodigies of valour, perished, under circumstances which render their melancholy story extremely interesting. This barbarous uncle sent the heads of his seven unfortunate victims to the palace of the King of Cordova, and caused them to be presented to their father on a plate of gold covered with a veil. The father, on viewing this sad spectacle, fell to the earth in a state of insensibility. The Caliph, indignant at the conduct of Velasquez, restored Gonsalve to liberty; but Velasquez was too powerful to afford Gonsalve any hope of punishing him. He attempted it in vain; age had deprived him of his powers. Retired from the world with his wife, he mourned his children,

dren, and demanded of heaven to follow them to the grave, when there arrived an avenger of whom he had not formed the most distant idea.

Gonsalve, whilst a prisoner at Cordova, gained the affections of the sister to the Moorish king, who, after his departure, was delivered of a son, which she called *Mударra Gonsalve*. Arrived at the age of fifteen years, this son, informed of the name of his father and the crime of Velasquez, and born to be a hero, resolved to revenge his brothers. He accordingly departed for Cordova to defy Velasquez, killed him, cut off his head, and presented it to the old Gonsalve, demanding to be acknowledged, and to become a Christian. The wife of Gonsalve consented, with transports of joy, to become the mother of this hero. Mударra was solemnly adopted by them, and the wife
of

of Velasquez was stoned and burned. It is from this Mudarra Gonsalve that the family of Mauriques de Lara, who are considered one of the first families in Spain, derive their origin.*

The report of Hackem's confinement and existence passed into Africa, and a prince of the Omiades collected together some troops, on the pretext of revenging his wrongs. The Count of Castile united with him, and civil war was kindled at Cordova. The whole of Spain was in commotion, and the Christian princes shortly retook the towns which Almanzor had wrested from them. The weak Hackem, the plaything of all parties, was replaced upon the throne, but was soon forced to abdicate it to escape death. A crowd

* Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, liv. viii. chap. 6.

crowd of conspirators* were in their turn proclaimed Caliphs, and were successively deposed, poisoned, or strangled. One of the last remaining branches of the race of the Omiades, named Almundir, resolved to reclaim his rights, in the midst of troubles and contests. When his friends represented to him the dangers he was about to encounter, "If I reign but "one day," answered he, "and the "next should be my last, I would not deplore my destiny." This desire, however, was never accomplished, as he was massacred, without arriving at the rank of Caliph. A number of other usurpers succeeded to the government, and fluttered but a day, of whom Yalmar-ben-Mahomed

* Mahadi, Suleiman, Ali, Abderame IV., Gasim, Jahiah, Hackem III., Mahomet, Abderame V., Jahiah II., Hackem IV., Jalmar ben-Mohamed.

med was the last (A. D. 1027); and with him terminated the empire of the Caliphs of the East, which the dynasty of the Omiades had occupied for three centuries.

With these princes the consequence and glory of Cordova was annihilated. The governors of the different towns, taking advantage of these times of anarchy and confusion, elevated themselves to the sovereign authority. Cordova itself became no more than the capital of a petty kingdom, and only preserved its religious supremacy, for which it was entirely indebted to the grandeur and magnificence of its mosque. Enfeebled by their divisions, the Musulmans were unable to resist the Spaniards, and the third epoch of their history affords little more than a detail of their decay.

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HISTORY
OF THE
EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

IN
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK III.

PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

BOOK III

PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS

RAISED ON THE

RUINS OF THE CALIPHAT OF THE EAST.

TOLEDO.

Ann. Dom.

- 1027 Adafar Almamon I.
- 1053 Almamon II, the benefactor of Alphonso VI.
- 1078 Hackem, the eldest son of Almamon II.
- 1079 Jahiah, brother of Hackem, the last King.
- 1085 The taking of Toledo by Alphonso VI, King of Castile; Jahiah goes to reign at Valencia.
- The termination of the kingdom of Toledo.

SARAGOSSA.

Ann. Dom.

- 1014 Almundir, Governor, became King.
- 1023 Almudafar Benhoud I.
- 1025 Suleiman Benhoud II.
- 1073 Almutadar Billah.
- 1096 Almutacem, the last King.
- 1118 The taking of Saragossa by Alphonso I, surnamed the Battle Fighter, King of Arragon.
- The termination of the kingdom of Saragossa.

VALENCIA.

Ann. Dom.

1026 Muceit, and many Usurpers.

1085 Jahiah, the last King of Toledo.

1093 Aben Jaf.

1094 The Cid takes Valencia, and rules it until his death.

1102 The Almoravides, Kings of Morocco, take Valencia. After the death of the Cid, many different Gevernors and Usurpers.

1224 Aben Zeith.

1230 Zean, the last King.

1238 Valencia taken by James I. King of Arragon.

SEVILLE.

Ann. Dom.

1027 Idris.

1028 Aboulcazem Benabad I.

1041 Abi Omar Benabad II.

1068 Mohammed Benabad

III. and last King.

Surrenders himself a prisoner to Joseph the Almoravide.

1097 Many different Governors and Usurpers.

1236 Seville becomes a Republic.

1248 Seville taken by Ferdinand, King of Castile.

CHAPTER X.

General View of the State of Christian Spain....

End of the Kingdom of Toledo....Successes of
the Christians....The Cid....Kingdom of Se-
ville.

FROM the commencement of the eleventh century, when the throne of Cordova was every day stained with the blood of some new usurper, the governors of the principal towns, as we have already seen, arrogated to themselves the title of kings. Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Valencia, Lisbon, Huesca, and many other less considerable places, had their particular sovereigns. The history of these numerous monarchs would be almost as fatiguing to the reader as to the historian, for it presents nothing, during two hundred years, but a detail

of continual massacres, of fortresses taken or retaken, of plunderings and seditions, of some achievements and an abundance of crimes ; I shall therefore pass rapidly over these two ages of misery, and content myself with pointing out the termination of these petty monarchies.

Christian Spain, during the same period, offers nearly a similar picture. The Kings of Leon, of Navarre, of Castile, and of Arragon, almost all relations and sometimes brothers, were not less prone to mutual destruction : nor did the difference of religion prevent them from uniting with the Musulmans, for the purpose of subduing other Christians, or other Musulmans, their enemies. Thus, in a battle of the latter, we find amongst their killed a Count of Urgel and three bishops of Catalonia. These three bishops, killed in fighting for the

Musulmans

Musulmans at the battle of Albakara (A. D. 1010), were Arnaulphe bishop of Vich, Accio bishop of Barcelona, and Othou bishop of Girone. The King of Leon, Alphonso, gave his sister, Theresa, in marriage to the King of Toledo, Abdalla (A. D. 1014), to procure his alliance against the King of Castile. The sons of Sancho the Great possessed themselves, by force of arms, of the inheritance which their father had assigned them (A. D. 1070). The children of the famous Ferdinand I. of Castile were robbed of their inheritance by their brother Sancho (A. D. 1076). Another Sancho, the fourth of that name, King of Navarre, was assassinated by his own children. Amongst the Christians, as well as the Musulmans, crimes accumulated. Civil, foreign, and domestic wars, at the same time, distracted Spain; and the

the people, always unhappy, expiated with their fortunes and their blood the crimes of their sovereigns.

In this long succession of deplorable events, one is delighted to see a king of Toledo, named Almamon, and a king of Seville, name Benabad, afford an asylum in their courts ; the one to the young Alphonso, King of Leon, and the other to the unfortunate Garcia, King of Galicia ; both of whom were forced to fly from their dominions, by their brother Sancho, King of Castile (A.D. 1071). Sancho persecuted his brothers as his most cruel enemies, whilst the monarchs of the Musulmans, the natural enemies of all Christians, received those two princes as their brothers. Almamon was peculiarly prodigal of the most tender cares towards the unfortunate Alphonso ; he occupied himself in procuring

curing for him at Toledo all those pleasures which might serve to console him for the loss of his throne, allowed him a revenue, and treated him as a beloved son. In a short time, the death of the barbarous Sancho (A.D. 1072) rendered Alphonso the inheritor of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile; and the generous Almamon, who held, as yet, in his hands the king of these states, his enemies, accompanied him to the frontiers, loaded him with presents and caresses, and offered him his troops and his treasures. Such, in fine, was the conduct of Almamon, that Alphonso never forgot his kindnesses; he preserved with him a peace, supported him against the King of Seville, and conducted himself in the same manner towards Hackem, the son and successor of the good Almamon.

After

After a reign rather short, Hackem left the throne of Toledo to his younger brother Jahiah, and this prince oppressing the Christians, who were very numerous in that city, they secretly besought Alphonso to come and attack Jahiah. The recollection of Almamon caused Alphonso to hesitate for a long time. His gratitude opposed the councils of his ambition, but was not equal to the contest. Alphonso encamped before Toledo (A. D. 1085); and after a long and celebrated siege, in which many warriors of France and Navarre hastened to engage, the city at length capitulated; when the conqueror permitted the children of Almamon to go and reign at Valencia, and pledged himself, by an oath, to preserve to the Musulmans their mosques. This vow, however, he could

not

not prevent the Christians from soon violating.

Such was the end of the Musulman kings and kingdoms of Toledo. That ancient capital of the Goths belonged to the Arabs three hundred and sixty-two years. After the fall of Toledo other towns, less powerful, did not delay throwing off the yoke. The kings of Arragon and Navarre, and the counts of Barcelona, harrassed and besieged, without ceasing, the petty Musulman princes who remained in the north of Spain ; while the Kings of Castile and Leon sufficiently occupied those of the south, to prevent them from succouring their brothers.

At length the Cid, the famous Cid, followed by an invincible troop, which his fame alone had assembled together, rushed into Spain, and caused the Christians

tians to triumph ; he fought also for the Musulmans when they disagreed amongst themselves, and always carried victory to the party which he deigned to protect. This hero, the most estimable, perhaps, of any whom history has celebrated, because his elevated soul was always pure, uniting to his talent for war a strict regard to moral virtues ; this simple knight of Castile, whose name alone had furnished him with troops and arms, made himself master of many towns, assisted the King of Arragon to possess himself of Huesca, and conquered, with his warriors alone, the kingdom of Valencia (A.D. 1094). Equally powerful as his sovereign, of whom he had often occasion to complain ; envied and persecuted by jealous courtiers, he never forgot, even for a moment, that he was the subject of the King of Castile. Exiled and banished from

from court, and even from his own estates, he went with his brave companions to attack and conquer the Musulmans, and sent the vanquished foe to pay homage to that king by whom he had been banished. Recalled, shortly after, by Alphonso, who stood in need of his assistance, the Cid quitted his conquests, and without demanding the least reparation, returned to defend his persecutors ; always ready, during his disgrace, to forget every injury offered by his king, and always ready, when in favour, to espouse the neglected cause of truth and humanity.

Rodrigo Diar de Bivar, surnamed the Cid,* so well known by his amours with Chimena and his duel with the Count de Gorma, has been the subject of various

* The chieftain.

various poems, of novels, and Spanish romances. Without adopting all the extraordinary anecdotes which these different works report of this hero, it is proved, by the testimony of historians, that he was not only the bravest and most formidable knight of his age, but also the most virtuous and most generous of men. He had already rendered himself celebrated by his exploits in the reign of Ferdinand I. King of Castile, when, in the year 1050, his son, Sancho II, wishing to deprive his sister Uraqua of the town of Zamora, the Cid, with his characteristic courage, represented to him that he was about to commit an act of injustice, and would violate at the same time the ties of blood and the laws of honour. The impetuous Sancho exiled the Cid, whom however he recalled a short time after through necessity.

sity. When the death of Sancho, killed by treachery before Zamora, had given the throne to his brother Alphonso VI, the Castilians desired that their new king should swear solemnly, that he was not concerned in the assassination of his brother. No one dared to demand of the king this awful oath ; but the Cid, at the same altar at which he was crowned, caused him to pronounce it, combining therewith the most horrible maledictions on those guilty of perjury. Alphonso never pardoned this liberty, and shortly after exiled the Cid, under the pretext that he had entered the territories of Almamon, his ally, king of Toledo, whither Rodrigo had, through mistake, pursued some fugitives.

It was during this exile that the most glorious epoch of the Cid's life took place ; it was at this time that he gained

so many conquests over the Musulmans, aided only by the brave knights whom his reputation had attracted to his banners. Alphonso recalled him from exile and shewed him, in appearance, great kindness ; but Rodrigo was too frank to retain this favour long. Banished again from the court, he conquered Valencia ; and master of that strong city and an extensive country, it only remained for him to declare himself sovereign ; which he never would do, but was always the faithful subject of Alphonso, although that prince often offered him the greatest offence

The Cid died at Valencia in the year 1099, loaded with years and covered with glory. He had one son, who was killed in a private combat. His two daughters, Donna Elvira and Donna Sola, espoused two princes of the house of Navarre ;
and,

and, by a long line of alliances, became the ancestors of the unfortunate Bourbons, who reigned so long in France and Spain ; and the history of whose misfortunes excite, at the present day, so much interest and commiseration.*

Whilst the Cid supported their cause, the Christians conquered ; but, after his death, the Musulmans of Andalusia changed their masters, and became, for some time, more formidable than ever.

After the fall of Toledo, Seville rose in consequence. The sovereigns of that city, possessed of old Cordova, were still masters of Estramadura and some portion of Portugal. Benabad, king of Seville, and one of the most estimable princes of that age, was the only enemy

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who

* When this passage was written the Bourbons were still exiles.

who could disturb Castile. Alphonso VI, wishing to associate himself with this powerful Musulman, demanded and obtained his daughter in marriage, and thereby became possessed of many places as her dowry; but these extraordinary nuptials, which appeared to secure tranquillity between the two nations, became the cause or pretext of new contests.

CHAPTER XI.

The Almoravides reign in Africa Their Conquests
 in Spain The French Princes go into Spain
 Termination of the Kingdom of Saragossa
 Foundation of that of Portugal Siege and
 Capture of Lisbon Sect of Tomrut.

AFRICA, after having been separated from the vast empire of the Caliphs of the East by the Caliphs of the race of Fatima, after three ages suffering under civil war, was successively subject to conquerors, more ferocious and more sanguinary than the lions of the desert, and at length became enslaved by the family of the Almoravides, a powerful tribe originally from Egypt.

The history of this portion of the world affords a series of continual murders,

ders, accompanied with circumstances so atrocious and of such an extraordinary nature, that one shudders with horror at every page ; and were we to form an opinion of human nature from the perusal of these blood-stained annals, we might incline to the belief, that of all ferocious animals, man is the most wicked and the most cruel.

Amongst a crowd of flagitious Africans who bore the crown, one Abou Ishak, of the race of Aghlibites stands distinguished. After having put to death eight of his brothers, he amused himself in shedding the blood of his own children ; and the mother of this monster succeeded with difficulty in saving from his fury six daughters, which were borne to him, at different times, from his numerous wives. One day dining with Ishak, and supposing that she should be pardoned,

pardoned, she seized the moment when her son seemed to regret not having more children, and tremblingly acknowledged that she had saved six of his daughters. The tiger appeared to grow tender, and desired to see them; they accordingly came, when their youth and beauty touched the heart of the ferocious Ishak, who caressed them a long time, with the fondness of a father, and his mother, weeping with joy, retired to return thanks to God for this favourable change. One hour after an eunuch arrived, conveying to her, by the king's order, the six heads of the young princesses. There are many similar actions of this execrable Ishak attested by historians. He reigned a long time, was fortunate in all his wars, and died of disease.*

* Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique, liv. iii.

Time has not diminished that sanguinary ferocity, which seems, amongst the Africans, to be a vice inherent in the climate. In more recent times, Mulei Abdalla, the father of Sidi Mahomet, a late King of Morocco, renewed these scenes of horror. One day, fearing he would be drowned in passing a river, a negro slave afforded him assistance, and congratulated himself on having the good fortune to save his master. Mulei heard him, and drawing his sabre, said to those about him, “Behold that infidel, who
 “believes that God had occasion for his
 “assistance, to prolong the days of a
 “Cheriff;” * and instantly cut off the head of the ill-fated slave.

The same Mulei had a confidential domestic, who had served him for a
 length

* A descendant of Mahomet.

length of time, and whom this barbarous king seemed to love. In a moment of familiarity he prayed this old servant to accept two thousand ducats and to retire from court, least he might feel a desire to kill him amongst so many others. The old man embraced his knees, refused the two thousand ducats, and told him, with tears in his eyes, that he would be more pleased to perish by his hand than to abandon his dear master. A few days after, without any motive but that thirst for blood, of which he had frequent fits, Mulei shot the unfortunate domestic, telling him, at the same time, that he acted wrong in not taking his departure. *

Asia was not more fortunate in this particular ;

* Historical Researches concerning the Moors, by M. Chenier, vol. iii.

particular ; many actions of the Caliphs of Damascus are sufficiently horrible to make us ashamed of our nature. One of these, who pretended to have a taste for the fine arts, had employed a painter at his court, and by chance entering the apartment of the artist, he found him occupied on a head of John the Baptist. Conceiving that the neck was too short, he mentioned this objection to the painter, who presumed to differ in opinion with his employer. Incensed at this unexpected opposition, the tyrant called for a slave, whose head he cut off with his scimitar before the eyes of the astonished and trembling painter, directing him, at the same time, to take the shocking subject as a model.

In later days, we have had opportunities of witnessing the feeble tenure by which life is held under the dominion of
the

the Turks. A ship of the line of that nation, which remained some time, in 1801, in the Bay of Aboukir, had a block on the forecastle for the sole purpose of decapitation.

Whilst the British troops were encamped before Ghiza, at the siege of Cairo, two English soldiers, having dressed themselves in the striped linen coats worn by the French, wandered into the Turkish camp, and being mistaken for Frenchmen, were instantly cut to pieces, and their heads used as footballs. On a complaint being made to the Capitan Pacha, he ordered six of the ringleaders to be hanged on adjoining trees, which sentence was immediately carried into execution.

But to return again to our history.—Joseph ben Tessefin, the second Prince of the dynasty of the Almoravides, founded
the

the empire and city of Morocco. Gifted with some talents for war, proud of his power, and eager to increase it, Joseph regarded with an eye of envy the delightful regions of Spain, formerly conquered by the Africans.

Some historians pretend that Alphonso VI, King of Castile, and Benabad, his father-in-law, King of Seville, having formed the project of dividing between them the whole of Spain, were guilty of committing the capital fault of calling the Musulmans from Africa to assist them in their grand design. Other authors, supported by arguments more plausible, assert, that the petty Turkish kings, either neighbours of or tributary to Benabad, justly alarmed by his relationship to a christian, solicited the alliance of the Almoravides. Whatever be the fact, the ambitious Joseph seized
the

the fortunate opportunity, passed the sea with an army, and attacking Alphonso, gained a victory (A. D. 1097). Directing his force against Benabad, Joseph took Cordova, laid siege to Seville, and was preparing to give the assault, when the virtuous Benabad, sacrificing his crown, and even his liberty, to save his subjects from the horrors of being pillaged, committed himself, with his family, composed of one hundred children, to the mercy of the Almoravide. That barbarian had the atrocity to load him with chains, and fearing the effects of those virtues which rendered this good king so dear to his people, he sent him to end his days in a prison in Africa, where his daughters were obliged to labour with their hands to support their father and brothers. The unfortunate Benabad lived six years in bondage, only

only regretting his throne for the sake of his people ; supporting his life on account of his children ; and composing, during his tedious hours of leisure, some poems still extant, in which he consoles his children, calls to mind his former grandeur, and gives himself as an example to those kings, who presume to consider themselves secure against the vicissitudes of fortune.*

Joseph, master of Seville and Cordova, did not hesitate to subdue the other petty Musulman states ; and to remove all pretext for revolt from his subjects, and to make his authority more respected amongst them, he sent an ambassador to Mostansir Billah, fifth Caliph of the Fatimates of Egypt. That prince, flattered by the homage of so great a conqueror, granted

* Cardonne.

granted him every thing he demanded, and gave him the title of Prince of the Musulmans in Spain;* and the Moors, reunited under a sovereign so powerful as Joseph, threatened to restore the consequence and respect which was enjoyed by their ancient monarchy.

The Spanish potentates, perceiving this, suspended their individual quarrels, and associated with Alphonso for the purpose of resisting the Africans. This was the period when fanaticism of religion and of glory led the world to relinquish the wars of Europe, and to betake themselves to espouse the cause of religion in the Holy Land. Raymond of Burgundy and his father Henry, both princes of the blood royal of France, Raymond de Saint Gillis, Count of Thoulouse,

* Cardonne.

louse, and other chevaliers their vassals, passed the Pyrenees and ranged themselves under the banners of the King of Castile. Joseph was forced to fly and quickly repass the sea, and the grateful Alphonso gave his daughters, as a recompence, to those brave knights who had supported his cause. The antiquated Urraqua married Raymond of Burgundy, and had a son who afterwards inherited Castile. Theresa became the wife of Henry, bringing him, as a dowry, all those territories which he had conquered, or could subdue in Portugal, and this was the origin of that realm. Elvira was given to Raymond Count of Thoulouse, who betook himself to Palestine, where, by his valour, he established his fortunes.

About this period Alphonso the Brave, King of Arragon, conquered Saragossa,
and

and put an end to that ancient kingdom of the Musulmans.

Proportionably as the year 1147 was glorious to the Christians, so was it fatal to the Arabs. They perceived, with the most poignant regret, the decay of their empire, and that the Christians were every day establishing and elevating themselves on the ruins of their former grandeur. But of all the conquests which their enemies attained, the following excited the most considerable sensation.

Alphonso I, son of Henry of Burgundy, who had taken the title of “King of Portugal,” conceiving that he was not a king in reality, until he became possessed of the capital of his kingdom, therefore long regarded Lisbon as the object of his ambition ; but feeling that he was too weak to undertake, without
M assistance,

assistance, a conquest of so much importance, and perceiving with regret, that the Christian monarchs of Spain, directing their arms against each other, precluded all hope of assistance from that quarter, whilst private animosities thus disunited them, took advantage of the English squadron then conveying the Crusades to the Holy Land, together with some Dutch and Flemish ships, which composed, at this epoch, a formidable fleet, off the coasts of Portugal, and placing themselves at the entrance of the port of Lisbon, formed an impenetrable barrier. Whilst the city was thus blockaded by sea, Alphonso besieged it by land, and after remaining five months before the place, having fought a number of battles with various success, he drew out his troops in order of battle, before the walls, and made his dispositions

dispositions for a general assault. He exhorted his troops to make one grand effort. “Do you not know,” said he to them, “why I have assembled you here “to conquer one town? The capture “of Lisbon will render you masters of “the whole of Portugal. This town is “filled with the gold and silver of the “Arabs, which appear to be concen- “trated here for the purpose of loading “you with riches. It is here that are “collected their arms and their machines “of war: in fact, this is the fortress of “the state. Recollect that the enemies, “against whom you are about to con- “tend, are the same which you have so “often vanquished; that a multitude “of people ought not to frighten you, “because, although there is a great “number of men, yet there are but few “soldiers in Lisbon. Dare to conquer

“ and penetrate into the town, open in
“ so many places. Advance boldly against
“ stones, arrows and fire: nothing can
“ withstand your courage, and you shall
“ see me partake with you the glory and
“ the danger of the day.” The soldiers
immediately demanded, with loud shouts,
to be led to the assault ; and clambering
over the ruins and the rubbish of the
walls, attempted to penetrate into the
place, with Alphonso at their head,
whose presence and example redoubled
their courage. The besieged, on their
side, omitted no effort to resist the Chris-
tians, and protected themselves with
those arms which despair had furnished.
At length the soldiers of Alphonso forc-
ed a gate, called Alfama, and rushing
like a torrent into the town, massacred,
in the first moments of their fury, all
those whom they found with arms in
their

their hands. The town was abandoned to pillage, and the plunder was immense.

Thus was Lisbon taken on the 8th of November 1144; and the rest of the realm followed the fate of the capital. Alphonso became master of the whole; and we feel a degree of pride in recording, that, even in those early days, Great Britain contributed to the establishment of the kingdom of Portugal.

CHAPTER XII.

Sect of Tomrut, the Founder of the Dynasty of the Almohades State of the Fine Arts amongst the Musulmans Abenzoar, Averroes Disunion among the Christians and Dissensions amongst the Moors.

DURING these times, the Kings of Navarre and Castile extended their conquests into Andalusia. The Musulmans were every where beaten, and their towns surrendered, for the most part, without the Almoravides making any considerable effort for their support.

These princes were, at this time, occupied by their endeavours to resist some new sectarists, by whose means a chief, named Tomrut, under the pretext of recalling the people to the pure doctrine of Mahomet,

Mahomet, was endeavouring to open for himself a passage to a throne, and at length succeeded, after a number of battles, in subduing the Almoravides.

As the history of this pretended reformer is but little known, it is hoped that some extracts therefrom may be acceptable here, and serve to shew the folly, as well as the mischievous tendency, of fanaticism.

The insolence, depravity, and cruelty of this adventurer, had shaken the confidence of his adherents, and his most zealous partisans found it difficult to justify the enormity of his actions. The greatness of the danger in which he was placed presented itself to his mind, and he plainly perceived that he was about to become the victim of his own knavery, unless he could execute some new stratagem, which, cloathed in appearances

of the marvellous or miraculous, might excite the astonishment of the people, and remove every doubt of his pretended sanctity.

Tomrut was secretly connected with a man, named Visinichi, whom he had attached to his interests by a conformity of character and magnificent promises. To prepare the minds, and to dispose the people in favour of his pupil, he constantly asserted, that God had some great design to accomplish by means of Visinichi. The latter, on his part, counterfeited idiotcy, and pretended that he did not know how even to read or write; but in the mean time he learned the Koran by rote, and was instructed secretly in the most difficult points of the law. Tomrut, to whom the fidelity of the people became every day more doubtful, resolved to bring him forward immediately upon

upon the stage, and ordered Visinichi to repair, at a particular hour, to a mosque which he pointed out. The people being assembled, Tomrut went accordingly to the mosque, and perceiving Visinichi near the altar, demanded of him, in an authoritative tone, what he came to do in that place, who did not know even how to pray. Visinichi answered, that an Angel of the Lord had appeared to him, had taught him the Koran, and had explained to him the most difficult points of the law ; that not content with these favours, he had washed his heart, and had purified him from all terrestrial propensities. Tomrut feigned incredulity, and as if to prove the truth, asked him to recite some verses of the Koran, and demanded their meaning. Visinichi explained them as a learned man, astonished the assembly by his eloquence, and

perceiving

perceiving the success of his imposture,
 raising his voice, exclaimed, " Musul-
 " mans, God has revealed to me his
 " eternal decrees : He has made known
 " to me those who are destined to par-
 " take of his glory, and those who will
 " be the objects of his vengeance. The
 " latter he orders you, by my mouth,
 " to put to death. If you do not be-
 " lieve my words, you will at least at-
 " tend to the voice of an Angel of the
 " Most High, who has descended from
 " heaven into a pit (the situation of
 which he here particularised); " he will
 " assure you of the truth of my words."
 Tomrut and the people betook themselves
 immediately to the place pointed out.
 Visinichi, arrived at the mouth of the
 pit, prostrated himself with his face to
 the earth, and raising himself in a little
 time, " Angel of the Lord," said he,
 " bear

“ bear testimony to the truth of that
 “ which I have announced to the people.
 “ Is it not by the order of the Almighty?”
 An audible voice ascended from the bottom of the pit, and pronounced the words,
 “ It is true !—It is true !” Tomrut immediately declared to the people, that the pit was sacred, as the Angel of the Lord had dwelt there, and that it was necessary to fill it up, in order to prevent its contamination. Then setting the example by throwing the first stone into it himself, the pit was instantaneously filled by the by-standers, and the unfortunate wretch, his victim, who had been concealed there, was thus infamously immolated.

Visinichi and Tomrut profited by the impression which this fiction, gross as it was, had made upon the people. Under the specious pretext of executing the orders

orders of God, they caused the death of all those whose fidelity was suspected, and thus avenged their individual animosities. More than seventy thousand men perished in this massacre, and from that moment the authority of Tomrut and Visinichi became indisputable.

Some years after, at the siege of Morocco, Visinichi was slain; and Abdoulmoumen, who was second in command, to prevent the soldiers from being discouraged by his death, caused his body to be concealed and secretly interred: but notwithstanding all his exertions he was forced to abandon the field, under cover of the darkness of night. The soldiers, who were ignorant of his having buried Visinichi, searched for his body to no purpose, and the reputation of sanctity which he had acquired caused them

them to suppose that he was elevated to heaven by angels.

Tomrut was at the point of death, when the fate of Visinichi and the defeat of his army was announced to him. He understood with pleasure that Abdoulmoumen, one of his adherents, had escaped the sword of his enemies; and as he had no children he nominated him his successor. Tomrut died a few days after, at the age of fifty-one.

His successors, masters of Morocco and of Fez, according to the usage of Africa, exterminated the entire race of the vanquished, and founded a new dynasty, known by the name of Almo-hades (A.D. 1149).

In the midst of these divisions, wars, and contests, the fine arts were carefully cultivated at Cordova. The same state of things, however, no longer existed

existed in that decayed town, as in the reign of Abderame; but the schools of philosophy, of poetry, and of physic, still remained. These schools, during twelve centuries, have produced many celebrated men; amongst whom are distinguishable, the learned Abenzoar and the famous Averroes. The former, equally experienced in the practice of physic, of pharmacy, and of surgery, lived, it is said, one hundred and thirty-five years, and has left some estimable literary productions. The latter, equally skilled in physic, but more of the philosopher, a poet, a lawyer, and a critic, acquired that great reputation which ages have confirmed. The division which he made of his pursuits give an idea of his mind and his abilities. In his youth he loved pleasure and was passionately fond of poetry; in more mature age, he
destroyed

destroyed the poems which he had composed, studied law, and was raised to the situation of a judge. Becoming more advanced in life, he relinquished that appointment, and directed his entire attention to medicine, in which he obtained extraordinary success; but at length natural philosophy alone succeeded to his former tastes, and occupied the whole of his time until he ended his days.

Averroes was the first who disseminated amongst the Musulmans, a taste for Greek literature. He translated into Arabic, and commented upon the works of Aristotle. He also wrote many other works on philosophy and medicine, and enjoyed the double glory of enlightening and preserving his fellow creatures. This great man was born at Cordova, and was of the first family in that city. His translation of Aristotle
was

was put into Latin, and we have had, for a long time, only that version. His other works, “*on the Nature of the World,*” and “*on Medicine,*” are still esteemed by the learned. Averroes is justly considered the first of the Arabian philosophers, who are not numerous ; but his philosophy was the cause of his misfortunes. The indifference which he affected to feel for all religions had excited the enmity of the Mahomedan priests. These fanatics, all of whom his talents had rendered jealous, accused him, before the Emperor of Morroco, of being a heretic ; and he was condemned to make the *amende honorable* at the gate of a mosque, and to receive on his face the saliva of all the faithful, who came to pray for his conversion. He submitted to this painful humiliation, repeating the following words :

words: "*Moriatur anima mea mortem philosophorum.*"*

Whilst Africa, distracted by the tedious wars of the Almoravides and the Almohades, could not make any opposition to the progress of the Spaniards, the latter, profiting by these troubles, extended their conquests into Andalusia. If their princes, less disunited, had acted in concert, they might at this period have expelled the Musulmans from the whole of Spain; but always divided among themselves, they had scarcely gained one town when they began to dispute its possession with each other. The new kingdom of Portugal, conquered by the valour of Alphonso, was already at war with that of Leon. (A.D. 1178.) The kingdoms of Arragon and Castile,

* Let my soul die the death of philosophers.

Castile, after the most bloody quarrels, entered into a league against Navarre; and Sancho VIII, king of that petty state, was forced to betake himself into Africa, to implore the assistance of the Almohades, who, recently established on the throne of Morocco, had yet to disperse the remnant of the partizans of the Almoravides, and were unable, although very willing, to assert their rights in Spain. During the reign of two Almohade kings, both of them called Jacob, the Musulmans often times crossed the Mediterranean with a strong army. (A. D. 1184.) One of these kings was vanquished by the Portuguese and did not survive his defeat; the other, conqueror of the Castilians, immediately accepted a tribute, and hastened to return to Morocco, where new troubles demanded his presence. (A.D. 1195.)

These

These useless victories, these ill-supported efforts, accomplished nothing either for the Musulmans or the Christians. On both sides, the conquered retreated directly into the country, forgot all treaties, and the monarchs of Morocco, sometimes considered monarchs of Andalusia, held but a precarious sway in that kingdom; always opposed by those who were at a distance, and always acknowledged by those, whom necessity compelled to demand the protection of the Andalusian Moors.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Africans attack Spain Battle of Toloza
 Tactics of the Moors Mahomet returns to
 Africa.

AT this period Alphonso, King of Castile, entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the King of Arragon; and these two princes laid siege to Cuença, which surrendered after a blockade of nine months.

On the other side, Ferdinand, King of Leon, possessed himself of Badajos; but as he did not wish to weaken his army by leaving a garrison in that place, he contented himself with imposing an oath of fidelity upon the governor. Scarcely had the prince departed, when the governor, having received some troops
 from

from Africa, forgot the oath which fear alone had extorted, and not content with shaking off the yoke which was attempted to be imposed on him, dared even to appear in the field, and to besiege Alphonso, King of Portugal, at Santarem.

Ferdinand, who found himself at the head of a fine army, excited by the desire of delivering Alphonso and of revenging himself for the infidelity of the Governor of Badajos, immediately attacked and defeated the Arabs and forced them to a disgraceful retreat; while Alphonso, having confided the guard of the frontiers of Portugal to his son Sancho, that young prince made an irruption into the confines of the Musulmans, ravaged the country, even in sight of the inhabitants of Seville, and afterwards joined his father at Santarem.

Abi-Jakoub, who reigned at this
 N 3 time

time over Africa, having quieted the troubles which had existed in that country, made his appearance a second time in Spain, and opened the campaign with the siege of Santarem, in Portugal. The king, Alphonso, notwithstanding his advanced age, did not hesitate to march to the assistance of that city. The Christians and the Arabs were engaged and fought a long time with equal courage, when at length Sancho, son of the prince, decided the fate of that day, by making a sortie from Santarem, at the head of the garrison and attacking the enemy in the rear; who, seeing themselves attacked in this way took to flight. Abi-Jakoub, in despair, disputed for a time the victory, supported by the Arabian nobility; but being mortally wounded by an arrow the rout became general. He died some days after of his wounds, and his

his body was conveyed to Seville. He was succeeded by his son, Jakoub, who was obliged to return to Africa to quell some new disturbances.

This prince made many efforts to subdue the Christians, but the troubles of Africa constantly opposed the progress of his arms, and he died at Sallee, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifth of his reign (A.D. 1210).

At length Mahomet el Nazir, the eldest son of Jakoub, the fourth prince of the dynasty of the Almohades, whom the Spaniards call the green from the colour of his turban, finding himself the peaceful possessor of the empire of the Musulmans in Africa (A.D. 1211), resolved to assemble all his forces, to carry them into Spain, and to renew the ancient conquests of Tarick and Moussa. A holy war was accordingly proclaimed,

and an innumerable crowd of warriors resorting to the standards of Mahomet, embarked with him from the shores of Africa, and arrived at those of Andalusia; where, though already doubly numerous to them, they were joined by the Musulmans in Spain, who were instigated by a hatred of the Christian name and the recollection of repeated injuries which they had sustained. Mahomet, full of confidence, announced to his soldiers a certain victory, promised to make them masters of all the land which they formerly possessed, and burning with a desire to bring affairs to an issue, advanced towards Castile, at the head of that formidable army, which, from the report of historians, exceeded six hundred thousand soldiers.

The King of Castile, Alphonso the Noble, apprised of the preparations of
the

the Emperor of Morocco, had implored the assistance of the Christian Princes of Europe. The Pope, Innocent III, published a crusade, and was prodigal of indulgences ; and Rodrigo, archbishop of Toledo, who had himself made a pilgrimage to Rome to solicit the aid of the sovereign pontiff, in return by the way of France, preached to the people on his route, and excited many warriors to fight the battles of religious zeal. (A.D. 1212.) The general rendezvous was held at Toledo, where arrived in a short time more than sixty thousand crusaders from Italy and France, who associated themselves with the Castilians. The King of Arragon, Peter II, the same who afterwards perished in the wars of the Albigenses, paraded his valiant army ; Sancho VIII, King of Navarre, hastened to appear at the head
of

of his warlike subjects ; the brave Portuguese, who came to lose their beloved prince, furnished their best warriors. The whole Peninsula, in fact, took up arms, and committed themselves in the same cause ; and never, since the reign of Rodrigo, did the Christians find themselves involved in such pressing difficulties.

It was at the foot of the mountains, called the Sierra Morena, which in other times were called Las Navas de Toloza, that the three Spanish princes had to encounter the Musulmans. Mahomet made himself master of all the defiles through which the Christians had to pass ; his design being, either to force them to retreat, in consequence of a want of provisions, or to crush them in those passes, if they had the audacity to present themselves. The kings, in a state of embarrassment, called a council
of

of war. Alphonso wished to fight; Peter and Sancho were of opinion that they should retire. In this critical state of things, a shepherd offered to shew them a defile with which he was acquainted; and this was the salvation of the army. The shepherd guided the kings, and by the most difficult byeways, over rocks and torrents, the Spaniards and Portuguese at length clambered to the top of the mountains. There they shewed themselves at once to the astonished Musulmans, and prepared themselves during two days for the combat, by prayers, confessions, and the sacrament. The kings set an example of this fervour, and the prelates and ecclesiastics, who were in great numbers in the field, after having absolved these pious warriors, disposed themselves to follow into the thickest part of the battle.

On

On the third day, the 16th July, in the year 1212, the army put itself in battle array, divided into three bodies of troops, each division commanded by a king. Alphonso and his Castilians were in the centre, with the knights of St. James and Calatrava, an order recently instituted. Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, the eye-witness and historian of this memorable battle, was at the king's side, preceded by a grand cross, which was the principal standard of the army. Sancho, and the troops of Navarre, formed the right: Peter and his Arragonese, were on the left. Thus ranged, the Christians descended towards the valley which separated them from their enemies.

The Musulmans, without any order, following their ancient usage, displayed every where their innumerable soldiers.

One

One hundred thousand men, excellently mounted, formed their principal force ; the remainder was a body of infantry, badly armed and ill disciplined. Mahomet, stationed on a hill, whence he commanded the whole of his army, was surrounded with a palisade formed of chains of iron, and guarded by a chosen band of warriors on foot. Standing in that inclosure, the Koran in one hand and his sword in the other, he was in view of all his troops, and the bravest squadrons crowded the hill on its four sides. The Castilians directed their first effort against that height, and immediately routed the Musulmans ; but being repulsed in their turn, they retreated in disorder and began to turn their backs. Alphonso, running here and there to rally them, said to the Archbishop of Toledo, who accompanied him every where

where preceded by the grand cross, “Archbishop, it is here that we ought to die!”—“No, Sire,” answered the plelate, “it is here that we should live and be victorious!” At these words the brave prebendary, who carried the cross, threw himself with it into the midst of the Musulmans. The king followed his example, and the Castilians, to save their prince and their standard, precipitated themselves into the thickest part of the battle. The Kings of Aragon and Navarre, already conquerors on their wings, united against the hill on which Mahomet had taken his station. The Infidels were attacked on all sides, and in spite of resistance were overpowered by the Christians. The Aragonese, the Navarrese, and the Castilians, endeavoured to rival each other. The brave King of Navarre, Sancho VIII, surnamed

surnamed the Strong, opened for himself a passage, gained the inclosure, and broke the chain with which the King of the Musulmans was surrounded. This chain still adorns the arms of Navarre. Mahomet immediately took to flight. His warriors no longer seeing him, lost their courage and their confidence, gave ground, fled before the Christians, and thousands of Musulmans were trampled in the dust. The Archbishop of Toledo, with the other prelates, surrounding the victorious kings, chanted *Te Deum* on the field of battle.*

Thus was gained the famous battle of Toloza, of which some detail is given in consequence of its importance, and to afford an idea of the tactics of the Musulmans, who knew no more of those matters

* Mariana, Cardonne, Garibai, Ferreras, &c.

matters than to mix with the enemy, and to fight, each on his own account, until the strongest or the bravest remained masters of the field. The Spaniards did not understand much more of the art of war; but their infantry, in consequence of being able to attack and resist in mass, considered the infantry of the Infidels as nothing. Their cavalry, on the contrary, chosen from the principal families, mounted upon excellent horses, and accustomed, from their infancy, to manage them, glanced along as quick as lightning, wounded their victim with the sabre or the lance, fled with the same velocity, and returned again to enjoy uniformly the fruits of victory.

The Christians, covered with steel, had the advantage over the horsemen of the Musulmans, who protected their breasts by a plate and their heads by a helmet
of

of brass, and whose infantry were almost naked and only armed with a pike of a flimsy construction. It may therefore be easily conceived, that in the heat of a battle, and above all in flight, great numbers must have perished, and indeed so many as to render the exaggerations of historians less incredible. They assure us, for instance, that at Toloza the Christians killed two hundred thousand Musulmans, and did not themselves lose more than fifteen hundred fighting men. In reducing to reality these assertions, it becomes certain that the Musulmans suffered an immense loss, and that this important day, which is celebrated annually at Toledo by a solemn festival, deprived the kings of Morocco, for a long time, of the hope of conquering the Spaniards.

The Arabian historians deeply deplore
 the

the loss of this battle. They consider it as one of the causes of the depopulation of Africa and of the fall of their empire in Spain. They say, that of six hundred thousand men, of which the army was composed, only a very small portion returned to Africa. Of other particulars they give no detail, as is always the case when the event is not favourable. The Spanish writers inform us that the number of those who perished on the side of the Arabs, amounted to one hundred and eighty-five thousand; while they assure us, though it must be confessed it does not appear altogether credible, that there were not more than twenty-five Christians slain. The letter of King Alphonso to Pope Innocent, giving an account of the victory, mentions only that number; and to give the Pope an idea of the immense multitude which composed

composed the Moorish army, he says that the Christians, having remained two days on the field of battle, and having nothing to serve for cooking and other purposes but the wood of the lances and arrows of the enemy, they could only consume a small part of it.

The victory of Toloza was followed by the most unhappy consequences to the unfortunate Mahomet, as well as the Musulmans of Andalusia. These, retired into their towns defended by the remains of the army of the Africans, resisted the Spanish kings, who took from them but a few places, and soon separated. The unfortunate Mahomet, despised by his subjects since his defeat, and betrayed by his nearest relations, having lost his whole power in Spain, and suffered the Musulmans again to form petty states which declared them-

selves independent, was forced to retire to Africa, where he died in a short time, the victim of chagrin; and with him perished the fortune of the Almohades. The princes of that family, who rapidly succeeded to Mahomet and lived in the midst of troubles, were at length precipitated from the throne, when the empire of Morocco became divided. Three new dynasties established themselves at Fez, at Tunis, and at Algiers; and these rival powers multiplied those combats, crimes and atrocities, which alone compose the history of Africa.

CHAPTER XIV.

State of the Musulman Power in Spain....James,
 King of Arragon....Ferdinand III, King of Cas-
 tile....Capture of Majorca....Benhoud, King
 of Valencia....Valencia invested....Fall of Ba-
 dajos, Merida, Almohoroso, and Ubeda....Siege
 and Capture of Cordova and Valencia.

AT this period dissensions arose in
 Castile, and the part which the Arrago-
 nese took in the war of the Albigenses
 in France, allowed the Musulmans time
 to breathe. They were still masters of
 the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, Gre-
 nada, Andalusia, and a part of Algarva
 and the Belearic Isles, at this time little
 known to the Christians of the Eu-
 ropean continent. These states were
 divided between many sovereigns. The

chief of them, Benhoud, an experienced prince and a great general, descended from the ancient Monarchs of Saragossa, and endowed with talents and valour, had subjected to his control almost all the south-eastern part of Spain. The most formidable, next to him, were the Kings of Seville and Valencia. The barbarian who reigned at Majorca, was nothing more than the chief of a piratical confederacy, and troublesome only to the Catalonians.

Such was the state of the Musulman power in Spain, when two young heroes inherited, almost at the same time, the most important crowns of the Christians, and after having pacified intestine troubles, turned all their strength against the Musulmans; and always emulous of glory, without being rivals in interest, they consecrated their lives to combat, vanquish,

vanquish, and expel their eternal enemies. (A. D. 1224.) One of these princes was James I, King of Arragon, son of Peter, who was killed in battle, and who united to the courage, grace, and activity of his father, more talents and better fortune. The other was Ferdinand III, King of Castile and Leon, a wise, valiant, and experienced monarch, whom the church has placed in the number of its saints, and whom history has counted in the catalogue of great men. Ferdinand carried, in the first instance, his arms into Andalusia. This king, nephew to Blanche of Castile, Queen of France, cousin german to St. Louis, and strongly resembling that hero in his piety, his valour, and the wise laws which he made for his people, entered the territories of the Musulmans, received the homage of most of their princes, who

came to acknowledge themselves his vassals, and possessed himself of a great number of places; amongst others that of Alhamra, where the inhabitants being frightened, retreated to Grenada, and settled themselves in a quarter of that city, which took the name, since so celebrated, of their ancient country. On the other hand, James of Arragon embarked with his army to conquer the Balearic Isles. Opposed by the winds, he could not proceed farther than Majorca, where he defeated the Musulmans on the shore, marched towards, and besieged their capital, and mounting first to the assault, this valiant king, who in dangers always preceded his bravest chiefs and most intrepid soldiers, possessed himself of that strong place, put the Musulmans to flight, and subdued for ever for Spain that fertile island. (A. D. 1226.)

James long meditated a conquest more important. Valencia, after the death of the Cid, had again fallen under the dominion of the Musulmans. That kingdom, so flourishing and fertile, where nature seemed to delight in covering with fruits and flowers that land which had been deluged with blood, belonged at this time to Zeith, brother to Mahomet the Almohade, who was defeated by the Christians at the battle of Toloza. A powerful faction, inimical to this Zeith, wished to place on the throne a prince named Zean. The two competitors went to war, and James taking the part of the weakest, under the pretext of marching to the assistance of Zeith, penetrated into the kingdom of Valencia, defeated Zean in many engagements, possessed himself of his fortresses, and profiting by these advantages, with that

active

active intrepidity which rendered him so formidable, surrounded on every side the capital of his enemy. (A. D. 1234.)

Zean, oppressed by the Arragonese, implored the assistance of Benhoud, the most powerful of the kings of Andalusia; but Benhoud was occupied in resisting Ferdinand King of Castile, and Alphonso King of Leon, who perceiving that he intended to possess himself of all the other states of the Musulman princes in Spain, in order to form them into a kingdom, that with their united forces he might be enabled to resist the Christians, resolved to frustrate his designs and not to give him leisure for their execution. (A. D. 1229.) The former accordingly raised an army and struck terror into Grenada, the capital of the states of Benhoud, who was also attacked the succeeding year, by Alphonso, who took
Castra

Castra Cecilia, a strong place, which he had besieged many times without success, and animated with his good fortune, now presented himself before Merida. Benhoud, who eagerly sought an opportunity to render himself illustrious amongst his subjects, by some exalted exploit, and by that means to strengthen his growing authority, did not hesitate to march to the relief of that place. Alphonso, whose troops were less numerous than those of Benhoud, was undetermined whether to accept or avoid the combat. At length this prince, who, in an advanced age, preserved all the fire of youth, decided on a course the most glorious, at the same time that it was the most dangerous. He drew out his army in order of battle, as did the Musulmans also, and the contest was continued with equal courage on either side,

side, though not with the same success ; for the Arabs were defeated and put to flight, and the fall of Merida and Badajos were the fruits of Alphonso's victory.

Whilst Merida fell into the power of the Christians, the Emir, Zian Ben Abi Hemlat Ben Merdenick, King of Valencia and Cordova, made an incursion into the kingdom of Arragon, carried every where desolation, and advanced as far even as Tortosa, with a design of ravaging Catalonia. James, King of Arragon, to revenge himself on that prince, caused different bodies of troops to advance towards the frontiers, and possessed himself of Morella and Burrich; the loss of which places afflicted Benhoud extremely, on account of the fertility of their territories, which afforded subsistence to many neighbouring villages, and which, deprived of this resource, were obliged

obliged to surrender. The Arragonese penetrated the centre of the kingdom of Valencia, and took Almohosora on the borders of the river Xucar.

King Ferdinand, on his side, having assembled a formidable army, commenced the war in Andalusia and laid siege to Ubeda, not far from Biatia. That town, the preservation of which was so interesting to the Moors, contained a numerous garrison, and was provided with all kinds of warlike stores and provisions; but the courage of the Christians triumphed over every difficulty, and the besieged, after a long resistance, were finally compelled to capitulate.

Ferdinand, after the capture of Ubeda, retired to Toledo, and left a body of troops to lay waste the environs of Cordova. Some stragglers from the garrison of that place having fallen into an ambuscade

buscade of the Christians, engaged themselves to deliver up one of the suburbs, provided they were set at liberty; and the Castilians, profiting by the darkness of night to steal a march upon the enemy, approached the suburbs, into which they were to be introduced. (A. D. 1235, A. H. 633.) They actually found the gates open, and fortified themselves with all due expedition; but being too few in number to sustain the post of which they had possessed themselves, some of their companions were dispatched immediately to communicate the event to the Christian governors of the neighbouring places, and to demand speedy assistance. What must have been the astonishment of the inhabitants of Cordova, when at day light, they discovered the danger which approached them, and perceived the Christians masters of one
 of

of their suburbs ! They ran to arms, and disposed themselves to rout the enemy ; but the latter were already in a state to resist them, Alvares de Castro, Governor of Martos, having brought them succour : and King Ferdinand himself, who was at Leon when he received the pleasing intelligence, put himself immediately in motion, notwithstanding the rigour of the season and the difficulties of the roads, and formed the siege of Cordova, on the first day of January, 1236.

Benhoud was then at Exiga, with a corps of the army, and undetermined whether to march towards Cordova or Valencia, those two towns being equally in danger. James, King of Arragon, was in possession of Moncado, in the plain of Valencia, and he decided to attack James, whom he supposed would be
the

the easier conquest, and had advanced for that purpose as far as Almeida when he was massacred by some rebels.

This prince was prudent, experienced, and equally great as a soldier and as a politician. No one possessed a greater talent for sewing dissensions amongst his enemies. Generous to profusion and always amongst his soldiers, he never reserved for himself the booty which he had taken, but seemed to make war for the purpose of enriching his troops. His death delivered the Christians from a dangerous enemy, and was an irreparable loss to the Musulmans, he being the only prince capable of retarding the fall of their empire, which was upon the brink of ruin.

Whilst King Ferdinand was before Cordova and besieging that place with all those machines which art had yet invented,

vented, the inhabitants defended themselves with a valour supported by the hope of speedy assistance; but when they learned that Abenhoud, their king, was slain at Almeira, they became faint-hearted, and endeavoured to prevent the misfortunes incidental to a place taken by storm, by an honourable capitulation.

The Christians, however, profiting by the misfortunes of the Musulmans, proposed conditions so extremely severe, that the besieged appeared inclined rather to bury themselves under the ruins of the place than to subscribe to them. At one time they ran to arms, and in an instant after resumed the negociation, and were ready to sign a treaty which they had before rejected with disdain. After many alternatives, the treaty was at length concluded the 29th of June, 1236, and it was thereby stipulated, that

the Musulmans should be at liberty to go where they pleased, but that they should deliver up the town to the troops of Ferdinand. It was thus that Cordova returned to the power of the Christians, after a lapse of five hundred and twenty-two years.

The Christians made a hard use of their victory, leaving the unfortunate Musulmans nothing but their lives, with the liberty of flight. Innumerable families, despoiled of their property, with tears in their eyes, left that superb city, which, during so many years, had been the principal seat of their grandeur, of their magnificence, of their religion, and of the fine arts ; and these unhappy people, in their flight, turned their eyes with despair towards those edifices, temples, and magnificent gardens, embellished by five ages of expense and of labour.

bour. The Christian soldiers which they left there, far from being acquainted with their value, were better pleased to destroy than to inhabit them ; and Ferdinand, possessor of a deserted city, was obliged to attract by privileges, and to call from all parts of Spain, people who murmured to abandon the arid rocks of Leon, to go and establish themselves in the most beautiful country in nature, and in the palaces of the Caliphs. The grand mosque of Abderame became a cathedral, and Cordova was assigned a bishop and a prebendary, but never recovered more than a faint image of its ancient splendour.

The Musulmans had scarcely recovered from the concern which the loss of Cordova occasioned, when they had again new misfortunes to deplore. James, King of Arragon, desolated the kingdom

of Valencia. The citadel, named El-puxiode-Santa-Maria, had been taken and retaken successively by the Musulmans and Christians, and was at length in the power of the latter, who had fortified it, and placed there a strong garrison. Zean, King of Valencia, presented himself before the place at the head of six hundred cavalry and forty thousand infantry ; but the Christians, encouraged by their continual successes, did not hesitate to attack the Arabs, notwithstanding their great superiority. The combat was tedious and sanguinary, and success a long time doubtful. It appeared, indeed, at one time probable, that the Christians would be overpowered by the multitude of their enemies ; but at length, courage supplied the place of numbers, and the Arabs were defeated and put to flight. King James

was

was hurrying to the support of the besieged, when he learned, on the road, the victory which had been gained. Encouraged by this success, he looked for nothing less than the conquest of the town of Valencia. In vain did Zean endeavour to divert him, by offering him many important places, and to pay a considerable tribute, but nothing could dissuade him from pursuing the design which he had formed.

Valencia is situated in a fertile plain in a soft and temperate climate, in which the severity of winter is not felt, and the heat of summer is moderated by the sea breeze. This capital is surrounded by delightful gardens, planted with orange and lemon trees, which preserve their verdure in every season of the year. The Guadalquivir flows on the left of the town, and we may see, to this day,

the palace of the king of the Musulmans, which was connected with the town by a superb bridge.

King James, having fortified his camp, caused battering rams, and the other machines of war then in use to be formed. The Musulmans, who had a more numerous army than the Christians, wished to commence the action, but the latter continued intrenched in their camp, and as they waited for new succours, refused to come to blows. In fact, it was not long before a body of English, whom the renown of such a considerable siege had invited to Spain, made their appearance. These succours augmenting the courage of the Christians, they filled up the ditch and commenced battering the town, whilst the besieged made a vigorous resistance, notwithstanding that Zean had to contend within his walls
against

against the faction of Zeith, whom he had dethroned (A.D. 1288). The king of Tunis endeavoured in vain to succour Valencia, but his troops having attempted many times to penetrate into the place without success, were obliged to re-embark, and his fleet took flight at the sight of that of James.

Zean, abandoned by all the world, discouraged by the fall of Cordova, and deceived by the partisans of his rival, made proposals to the Arragonese Prince to become his vassal and to pay him tribute. The conditions of the treaty were, that Valencia and all the towns and fortresses on that side the river Xucar, should be delivered over to King James, and that fifty thousand Musulmans, departing with their king, should carry with them their treasures, and retire to Denia or Cullera. James,
p 4 faithful

faithful to his word, protected them against the rapacity of his soldiers who were greedy of such rich booty.

After the fall of the two powerful kingdoms of Andalusia and Valencia, nothing more appeared likely to restrain the progress of the Spaniards. Seville, which alone remained in the hands of the Musulmans, was already threatened by the victorious Ferdinand; but at this very period there arose, on a sudden, a new state of things, which retarded their total ruin, and acquired for them, during two hundred years more, a great degree of celebrity.

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

IN

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BOOK IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF SPAIN
AND CASTILE
HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF THE MUSULMANS

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

BOOK IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OR

THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF GRENADA AND CASTILE.

<i>Kings of Grenada.</i>	<i>Kings of Castile.</i>
Ann. Dom.	Ann. Dom.
1236 Mahomet I. Abousaid Alhamar, founder of the Kingdom of Gre- nada, and chief of the Alhamar branch.	1230 St. Ferdinand III. of that name.
1273 Mahomet II. al Fakih, Emir al Mumenim.	1252 Alphonso X, the Wise. Sancho IV. the Brave.
1302 Mahomet III. el Hama, or the Blind.	1295 Ferdinand IV, or the Summoned.
1310 Mahomet IV. Abena- zar.	1311 Alphonso XI, the Aven- ger.
1318 Ismael I. Farady, chief of that royal branch, which descended from the first Alhamar.	
1322 Mahomet V.	
1343 Joseph I.	
1354 Mahomet VI, the Old.	1350 Peter the Cruel,
1360 Mahomet VII, the Red Alhamar.	

Kings of Grenada.

Ann. Dom.

1362 Mahomet VI, the Old,
replaced on the Throne.1379 Mahomet VIII. Abou-
hadjab or Guadix.

1392 Joseph II.

1396 Mahomet IX. Balba.

1408 Joseph III.

1423 Mahomet X. Abenazar,
or the Left-handed.1427 Mahomet XI, or the
Little.1429 Mahomet X, the Left-
handed, replaced on
the Throne.1432 Joseph IV. Almahar.
Mahomet X, the Left-
handed, placed the
third time on the
Throne.

1445 Mahomet XII. Osmin.

1453 Ismael II.

1465 Mulei Hassem.

1485 Abouabdalla, or Bo-
abdil the last King.1492 The taking of Grenada
by Ferdinand and Isa-
bella, Sovereigns of
Castile and Arragon.Conclusion of the King-
dom of Grenada.*Kings of Castile.*

Ann. Dom.

1369 Henry II. Transtamar.

1379 Jean I.

1390 Henry III.

1406 Jean II.

1454 Henry IV, the Impotent,
1474 Isabella and Ferdinand
V, conquerors of Gre-
nada.

CHAPTER XV.

Mahomet Alhamar, or Abousaid, founds the Kingdom of Grenada Description of the City
 Extent and Riches of the Realm Reign of
 Mahomet I. Alhamar He becomes Vassal to
 Ferdinand III. Seville besieged and taken.

THE victories of the Spaniards, after the capture of Cordova, had thrown the Musulmans into a state of consternation. This people, fiery and superstitious, as easily discouraged as elevated by vain expectations, regarded their empire as destroyed, since the triumphant cross crowned the summit of their most magnificent mosque. Whilst Seville, Grenada, Murcia, and the kingdom of the Algarvas, were as yet in possession of the Moors, they possessed all the ports and
 all

all the rivers in the South of Spain. Their astonishing population, their riches, and their industry, gave them assurances of immense resources ; but Cordova, the holy city, the rival of Mecca in the East, was in the hands of the Christians, and the Musulmans conceived themselves without a standing place.

One man, alone, afforded them hope. This was Mahomet Abousaid, of the tribe of *Alhamars*, originally from Couffa, a town of some consequence, situated on the coast of the Red Sea. Many historians, who gave him the name of Mahomet Alhamar, assure us that he commenced his fortune as a simple shepherd, who happening to take up arms, arrived at the throne by the celebrity of his exploits. This fact will not appear extraordinary, when we reflect that, amongst the Arabs, all those who do not descend
from

from the family of the Prophet, or from a royal race, have no privilege of birth, nor any other estimation, than that which precarious fortune bestows.

Whatever be the fact, Mahomet Alhamar, endowed with great courage himself, reanimated that of the vanquished Musulmans; for having reassembled some troops in the town of Arjonne, and knowing the character of the nation which he wished to govern, he engaged in his interest a *Santon* (a kind of religious votary peculiarly venerated by the Musulmans), who proceeded to predict publicly that in a short time Mahomet would become a king. The people immediately proclaimed it, and many cities followed the example. Mahomet succeeded to Benhoud. Possessed of equal talents, and perceiving of what importance it was to provide the Arabs with a town
which

which should supply the place of Cordova, and might become the centre of their strength and the last resort of their religion, he founded a new kingdom, and chose Grenada for his capital. (A. D. 1236.)

This city, from time immemorial powerful, and which is believed to be the ancient *Illiberis* of the Romans, is built on two hills, not far from Sierra Nevada, a chain of mountains covered with snow. The Darro passes through it, and the Xenil washes its walls. On the summits of these two hills two fortresses are erected, called Albayzin and Alhambra. These formerly were so extensive, as to enclose each of them forty thousand men. The fugitives from the city of Alhambra, as we have already noticed, had given the name of their country to the new quarter which they

they came to inhabit ; Moors driven from Baeca, of which Ferdinand III. had made himself master, had likewise arrived and established themselves in the quarter called Albayzin ; and Grenada had also received many exiles from Valencia, Cordova, and other places, deserted by the Musulmans. Thus every day increasing, it shortly became a town of more than three leagues in circumference, and protected with impregnable ramparts, defended by a thousand and thirty towers and by a brave and numerous population, it seemed secure of its independence. *

Other advantages gave to Grenada the supremacy to which it pretended.

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Its

* Garibay, Compend. Hist. ; Duperron, Voyage d'Espagne ; Swinburne's Letters on Spain ; Colmenar, Délices d'Espagne.

Its situation, the most beautiful and most pleasant in the universe, rendered it mistress of a country, in which nature was prodigal of her finest productions. The famous *Vega*, that is to say, the plain which surrounds it, is a concave of thirty leagues in circumference and almost eight in breadth, terminated towards the north by the mountains of Elvira and the Sierra Nevada, and closed on the other sides by an amphitheatre of hills, planted with olive, mulberry, vine, and lemon trees. The interior of this plain is watered by five small rivers, *viz.* the Darro, the Xenil, the Dilar, the Vagro, and the Monachil : as well as by an infinite number of springs, meandering through dales almost always verdant, through forests of oak and groves of orange trees, through fertile fields of corn and linseed, and plantations of the sugar-cane. The whole
of

of these productions, so valuable, so beautiful, and comprehending such a variety, require but little culture ; for the goodness of the soil, susceptible of unceasing vegetation, never reposes even in the coldest seasons ; and during the burning heats of summer, the winds, collected along the sides of the mountains, refresh the air, reanimate the aspirations of the breeze, and enliven the beauties of those flowers, which are the constant attendants on fruits of the most exquisite flavour.

It is in this celebrated plain, to which all description is inadequate, in this enchanting country, where Ceres appears exerting her utmost powers to present to human nature every thing desirable, that more human blood was shed than in any other part of the world. During two ages of unremitting war, supported by

different nations, by this town and that, by man against man, we are assured that there is not a single corner of the country, in which the harvests have not been burned, the trees rooted up, villages reduced to ashes, and the fields covered with the dead bodies of Musulmans or slaughtered Christians.

Independant of the *Vega*, an inexhaustible treasure to Grenada, fourteen great cities, more than a hundred towns and a prodigious number of villages,* were dependant on this delightful kingdom, whose extent, from Gibraltar (which was not taken by the Christians till a long time after) to the town of Lorca, the Eliocrata of the ancients, was more than eighty leagues, and it was thirty

* The names of these are to be found in Garibay, book xxxix, chap. 2.

thirty in breadth, from Cambril to the sea. The mountains, by which it is intersected, produce gold, silver, different species of granite and amethysts, with all kinds of marble. Amongst these mountains, those which are called the Alpuxares, forming alone one province, furnished kings of Grenada with the most precious treasures, as well in mines as men, who were active, laborious, skilful agriculturalists, and indefatigable soldiers. In fine, the ports of Almeria, of Malaga, and Algeziras, collected the ships of Europe and of Africa, and became the depots of merchandise of both seas.

Such, from its origin, was the kingdom of Grenada, and such it long continued. Mahomet Alhamar, its founder, made ineffectual efforts to unite, under his own sceptre, all that remained of the

Musulmans in Spain, which was the only means of effectually resisting the Christians ; but the petty states of Murcia and Algarva, each governed by its particular prince, as well as the grand city of Seville, refused to acknowledge him, and continued to form independent states, whence the cause of their overthrow and their becoming a prey to the Spaniards.

Abousaid, in order to gain the confidence of those who had embraced his party, sought an opportunity of conquering the Christians ; and being informed that the governor of the fortress of Martos, followed by the garrison, had proceeded to ravage the territories of the Musulmans, he presented himself unexpectedly before that place. The wife of the governor, a woman of courage and resolution, immediately ordered the gates to be closed, and made preparations for
a vigorous

a vigorous resistance, whilst the other women who were in the town, following her example, discharged a shower of stones and burning pitch upon the assailants, and defended themselves with so much vigour, that they gave time to the Christians to come to their assistance. The King of Grenada, fearing to be attacked by a superior force in his rear, retired, disappointed and disgraced, and some time after concluded a treaty with Ferdinand for three years.

This treaty had scarcely expired, when these two princes again commenced hostilities. Ferdinand laid waste Andalusia; but Rodrigo Alphonso, brother of that prince, having made an incursion towards Grenada, was defeated by Abou-said. The Musulmans, who had not for a long time heard of a victory over the Christians, hence conceived the greatest

Q 4 expectations ;

expectations ; but in the mean time Ferdinand advanced into Andalusia, to revenge the defeat of his brother, and took the town of Arjon, the loss of which place was peculiarly painful to the King of Grenada, as it was his birth-place and the patrimony of his ancestors.

The war recommenced the following year with more fury than before. The King of Castile laid waste the frontiers of the enemy's country, and carried fire and sword to the very walls of Grenada. Jaen, which had resisted so many years all the efforts of the Christians, was also invested by that prince. This town being built on the brow of a steep mountain, with its fortifications rising one above the other, and its inhabitants, as yet, very formidable for their courage as well as their numbers, rendered its capture extremely difficult. Ferdinand,
after

after having battered the place for some time without effecting a breach, began to doubt the success of the siege, and was even on the point of abandoning it altogether, when an event took place, which terminated with glory an enterprise formed with rather too much temerity.

Whilst this prince was before Jaen, the flames of discord were kindled at Grenada. Abousaid, whose life was in danger in the midst of his revolted subjects, fled to Ferdinand, and besought him to undertake his defence. The prince very willingly consented, but demanded of the Moorish king to put him in possession of the town of Jaen, to do him homage for the kingdom of Grenada, and as a proof of his dependence, that he should be obliged, in time of war, to join the arms of the Christians, at the head of his forces. By another condition,

condition, which was the most severe, Abousaid was compelled to give to the King of Castile a portion of the revenues of his crown, which amounted at this time to one hundred and seventy thousand pieces of gold. Ferdinand, in execution of the treaty, which was concluded, took possession of Jaen, and furnished his ally with troops to assist him in reducing his rebellious subjects to obedience (A. D. 1242).

Ferdinand having nothing more to fear from the King of Grenada, turned his arms against Seville, and presented himself before Carmone,* the inhabitants of which town, rather than suffer a siege, consented to pay an annual tribute.

* A gate of this town, which opens towards Seville, is one of the grandest pieces of antiquity in the whole of Spain.

bute. Many other places followed this example ; and Ferdinand, after having subdued part of Andalusia, at length proclaimed his design of making himself master of Seville.

This town, which then was the capital of a kingdom of that name, is situated in the west of Spain ; the Guadalquivir, anciently called the *Betis*, bathes its left side, and flows between the town and one of its suburbs, named Trema, to which it is connected by a bridge of boats. The river, which in this streight is confined by strong dykes, is navigable for the largest ships ; and on that side next the town a tower is erected, which, from the elegance of its structure, has merited the name of *The Tower of Gold*. But what constituted the principal defence of the place, was another tower near the great mosque, which for solidity and elevation

vation surpassed all the other works: it was built of brick, and was two hundred and forty cubits in height by sixty in breadth. The town contained, within its walls, more than twenty-four thousand Musulman families, divided into twenty-three tribes. It had no longer a king, but formed a species of republic, governed by military magistrates. Its position near to the mouth of the Guadalquivir, its commerce, its population, the pleasing temperature of its climate, and the fertility of its fields, rendered it one of the most flourishing cities in Spain.

The inhabitants of Seville no sooner saw that the town was invested than they began to prepare for a vigorous defence, and furnished themselves with horses, arms, implements of war, and provisions of every kind. The whole of
the

the inhabitants, brave to a degree, took up arms, and were joined by a great number of Arabs from Africa, who came to their assistance.

Ferdinand, on his part, having disposed every thing for a siege, of which he foresaw the difficulties and duration, appeared at length before Seville on the 20th of August 1247. The Christian army encamped before the lower part of the town, on the borders of the Guadalquivir; and a body of troops, under the orders of Pelagus Corea, was posted on the other side of the river. This general had great difficulty in supporting himself in that perilous post, the environs of which were surrounded by the Musulmans, and having also opposed to him a corps of Arabs, commanded by Abou Dijafer, Governor of Niebla. The besieged made many sorties and endeavour-
ed

ed to destroy the works of the Christians, and in some engagements the advantages were nearly equal on both sides. But what chiefly annoyed the Musulmans was the fleet of Ferdinand, which being moored before the town, prevented the entrance of any provisions ; the garrison therefore made many efforts to burn the ships, and assailed them with great quantities of combustible matter.

The siege was tedious and attended with desperate slaughter on both sides. The Sevillians were numerous and warlike, added to which, the King of Algarva, their ally, harrassed the besiegers unremittingly, and in spite of the extreme valour which the Spaniards exhibited in repeated assaults, notwithstanding the famine which made its appearance, the town, after twelve months siege, refused to surrender.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, fatigued with long labour and delay, summoned the King of Grenada to come, according to his treaty, and fight under his banners. Abousaid, faithful to the treaty which he had made with Ferdinand, repaired to his camp, accompanied by a body of chosen troops, and his presence elevated the courage of the Spaniards, who began to be disheartened at a siege so long, and so fatiguing; for on one side the most destructive diseases had diminished the army, and occasioned more losses than the sword of the enemy; while, on the other, the Moors had destroyed all the works of the Christians, and burned their battering train. Even Ferdinand himself was undetermined which part he should take; whether to continue or relinquish so difficult an enterprise.

The arrival of the King of Grenada,
and

and the fresh forces which came into the field, occasioned the siege, which had languished so long, to assume a new form. The precincts of Seville were so extensive, that in spite of all the vigilance of the Christians, it was impossible to prevent the entrance of some convoys; the Christian admiral, therefore, formed the bold design of breaking the bridge, and cutting off, by that means, the communication of the town with the suburb Triama. The enterprise was difficult, the bridge being constructed of boats attached strongly to each other by heavy iron chains; but to accomplish the design which he had formed, he caused two of the largest ships of his fleet to be bound together, and taking advantage of a strong wind, with all the sails set, he bore down so violently against the chains with the prows of his ships, that he succeeded

ceeded in forcing the passage. The Christians, who had witnessed the enterprise, mounted vigorously to the assault, gained the breach and killed or overpowered all who opposed them, whilst the inhabitants, alarmed at the danger in which the city was placed, ran on all sides to the walls, overturned the scaling ladders, and overwhelmed the besiegers with stones, burning pitch, and boiling oil. The battle continued for a long time with equal fury on both sides, but in the end the besieged made such powerful resistance as to compel the Christians to retire.

In the mean time, however, famine began to be felt in the town, and became so pressing, as to oblige the Musulmans to enter into a negotiation. Their deputies, who came to the Christian camp, tendered Ferdinand a considerable tri-
R
bute,

bute, provided he would raise the siege; but finding their proposition rejected with disdain, they offered to yield him a part of the city, which they would separate by a wall.

The Spaniards, exhausted by the fatigues of so tedious a siege, wished the king to agree to this accommodation; but he, determined to be master of Seville, broke up the conference and desired it to be intimated to the deputies, that they would not be admitted again into his presence, unless they brought with them the keys of the town. The Musulmans were at last necessitated to subscribe to the conditions dictated to them by their conqueror; and by the treaty which was concluded, the inhabitants had permission to retire where they pleased, to carry with them all their property and treasures, and were permitted
to

to retain the towns of San Lucar of Niebla and Aznal Farach. With the fall of Seville all the other towns and fortresses of the kingdom became subject to the Christians; and it was thus that Ferdinand, after a siege of six months, at length accomplished his desires (A.D. 1248).

Whilst this prince, more pious than politic, entered in triumph into his new conquest, he forced the unfortunate inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand persons, of different sexes and ages, to quit, with regret, a town which had been the place of their nativity. Some of them retired into the places still belonging to the Musulmans, but the greater portion departed from Spain, and passed into Africa. The petty states of Algarva became subject to the Por-

tuguese, and the King of Granada enjoyed the humiliating glory, of having contributed, by his exertions, to the destruction of his brethren.

CHAPTER XVI.

Death of Ferdinand III....Revenues of the King
 of Grenada....His military strength....Cavalry
 of the Musulmans....Alphonso the Wise....
 Divisions in Castile....Reign of Mahomet II,
 the Fakih.

NOTHING interesting occurred during the two following years. The Christians and the Musulmans, equally fatigued with war, remained at rest; but in the year 1250 Ferdinand took from the Moors Medina Sidonia, and many other towns. This prince, after having subdued the Musulmans in Spain, formed a design of carrying his arms into Africa, and had even equipped a fleet in Biscay for that expedition, when death arrested the career of his conquests in the year 1252.

Ferdinand was, of all the Christian kings, the one who gave the most severe blow to the empire of the Musulmans in Spain. Cordova, Seville, Jaen, and a number of other considerable towns which he took from them, and added to his own states, rendered him the terror of that nation. His son, Alphonso X, surnamed the Sage, renewed the treaty which his father had made with Abou-said, King of Grenada, and remitted him a fifth of the tribute, in consideration of the services he had rendered the Christians, during the siege of Seville.

Notwithstanding all that Ferdinand had accomplished, yet nothing altered the good understanding which existed between that monarch and Mahomet Al-hamar. The latter, however, took advantage of these times of peace, to strengthen his crown, and fortify himself

self against the Christians, whom, he foresaw, could not long remain his friends. He soon found himself in a state to make a long defence. Master of a great extent of country, he possessed considerable revenues, which it would be difficult to estimate, considering how little we know of the value of Arabic money, and the different sources from whence the public treasures were drawn. All the lands, for example, paid the sovereigns a seventh part of their produce in kind: the troops were raised by the same imposition. Numerous and magnificent farms formed the royal domain; and agriculture, pursued to the utmost degree of perfection, in a country so abundant, must have raised that species of revenue to a prodigious amount. These riches were further increased by many rights, which became the privilege

of the sovereign ; from disasters by sea, from the affixing of signatures, and from the toll paid on the passage of every species of cattle. One law rendered the monarch the heir of all Musulmans dying without children, and gave him a part of other inheritances. He possessed, as we have seen, the mines of gold, of silver, and of precious stones ; and although the Musulmans were little experienced in exploring the mines, Grenada was nevertheless the country in Europe, where gold and silver were the most abundant. The traffic in fine silks ; the variety of other productions ; the neighbourhood of the two seas ; the activity, the industry, the astonishing population of the Musulmans ; their profound knowledge of agriculture ; that sobriety natural to the inhabitants of Spain ; that property of warm countries, which

which occasions the earth to yield so much, and enables its possessor to live on so little; so many advantages united, must give a grand idea of the resources and the power of that singular nation.*

Their force (I do not speak of the time of peace, because they were scarcely ever in that state,) amounted almost to one hundred thousand men. This army, on occasion, could be increased with ease to double the number. The city of Grenada, alone, furnished fifty thousand warriors; and the entire of the other Musulmans were soldiers prepared to fight the Spaniards. The difference of religion rendered their wars holy; and the animosity and hatred of the

* Garibay, lib. xxxix. chap. 4. Abi Abdallah-ben-Alkahilbi Absanoni, &c. Manuscripts preserved in the Escorial. Swinburne, letter xxii.

the two nations, almost equally superstitious, kept both sides in a state of enmity and hostility from infancy to old age.

Independently of those numerous troops, brave but ill-disciplined, which collected themselves together for one campaign, and betook themselves again to their habitations, without occasioning any expense to the state, the monarch kept up a considerable body of horsemen, dispersed over the frontiers, along the line of Murcia and of Jaen, countries constantly exposed to the incursions of the Spaniards. Each of these horsemen had a small habitation, and a piece of land assigned him for life by the king, which was sufficient for his own support, and for that of his family and his horse. This mode of keeping them in pay was no charge upon the public treasure, but
attached

attached them, from necessity, to their country, and interested them, above all, in carefully defending their property, being always the first exposed to pillage if they did not stop the progress of the enemy. In those times, when the art of war did not demand, as in our days, the necessity of exercising large bodies of troops together, this cavalry was excellent. Mounted on Andalusian or African horses, the value of which is well known, composed of men accustomed from their infancy to manage these light and active coursers, to attend, to cherish, to regard them as the companions of their lives, they had acquired at this time that superiority, which we must allow them to possess, even at the present day.

These formidable squadrons, whose velocity was unrivalled, which, almost
in

in the same instant, charged in a mass, divided into troops, dispersed, rallied, fled, or returned in line; these horsemen, whose voice, whose most trifling gesture, whose very thoughts, as it were, seemed to be understood by their admirable horses, and who could pick up, at full gallop, their lance or their sabre if fallen to the ground, formed the principal force of the Musulmans. The Mamelukes of Egypt, and the Bedouin Arabs of the present day, have a most astonishing command over their horses; but this is chiefly owing to the severity of the curb, now so well understood in England.

Their infantry passed for nothing; and their places of strength badly fortified, surrounded simply by a wall and a ditch, defended by such infantry, could not long resist the force of the Spaniards and Portuguese, already arrived at that excellence

excellence which they have since exhibited in Italy, under the gallant Gonsalve de Cordova, and at the present period so conspicuous in their glorious struggle against the overwhelming power of France.

After the death of Saint Ferdinand, Alphonso the Sage, his son, as we have before observed, mounted the throne (A. D. 1252). It was this Alphonso who said jestingly, that if he had been of the council of God at the time of the creation, he would have given him some good advice !!! This pleasantry has deservedly incurred the reproaches of historians.

Alphonso was a great astronomer, and his *Alphonsine Tables* have acquired him considerable celebrity. His collection of laws, also, entitled *Las Partides*, prove that the good of his people occupied a
portion

portion of his attention. It is in this collection we find these remarkable words, written by a king in the thirteenth century : “ *The despot plucks up the tree ; the wise monarch prunes it.*”

On the accession of Alphonso to the throne, Alhamar took an early opportunity of going himself to Toledo, followed by a brilliant train, and renewed with the new king that treaty of alliance, or probably of dependance, which united him to Ferdinand. Alphonso remitted to the Musulman monarch a part of the tribute to which he was subject. This peace however was not of long duration ; and the two nations commenced war with advantages, for the most part, equal.

We shall content ourselves with recounting one heroic act, which does as much honour to the humanity of the Musulmans,

Musulmans, as to the courage of the Spaniards: it is that of Garcias Gomes, Governor of Xeres. This man, besieged by the Grenadines, his garrison almost destroyed, refused to surrender the town, although there was scarcely a man remaining who was not so badly wounded as to be incapable of resistance; but standing on the defensive, covered with blood and pierced with arrows, he sustained alone the shock of his assailants. The Musulmans, with one accord, agreed amongst themselves to prevent the death of such a hero; they raised him from death against his will, treated him with respect, took care of his wounds, and sent him to the rear loaded with praises and presents.

Alhamar could not prevent Alphonso from possessing himself of the kingdom of Murcia; and to obtain peace, was
forced

forced to submit a second time to pay tribute. (A. D. 1266.) The divisions which occurred, a short time after, between the Monarch of Castile and some great men of his kingdom, gave to the Grenadine the hope of repairing his fortunes. The brother of Alphonso, and many noblemen of the first families of Castile, particularly those of Lara, Haro, Mendoza, and others, discontented with their sovereign, betook themselves to Grenada, and served Alhamar usefully against his rebellious subjects, who were protected by the Spaniards.

But Alhamar died (A. D. 1273); leaving the throne, which he had acquired and preserved by his extraordinary talents, to his son Mahomet II. el Fakih.

The new king, who took the title of *Emir al Mumenin*, followed the steps of his

his father. Profiting by the discord which reigned at the court of Castile, and the useless voyage which Alphonso the Wise undertook, in the hope of causing himself to be elected Emperor of Germany, Mahomet, during his absence, concluded an offensive league with Jacoub, King of Morocco, descended from the Merinis, the conquerors and successors of the Almohades, and ceded to him the two strong places of Tarifa and Algeziras, to encourage him to pass over into Spain, which he accordingly did, followed by an army.

Immediately on his arrival in Spain, he employed himself in establishing an union between the Governors of Malaga and Cadiz with Mahomet el Fakih, King of Grenada, who had come to meet Jacoub at Malaga; in which town the two princes consulted together on the
s
operations

operations of the campaign, and agreed to divide their troops into two bodies, one of which, under the command of the King of Morocco, was to overrun Andalusia and lay siege to Seville, whilst Mahomet was to attack the kingdom of Jaen. (A. D. 1275.)

Don Nugno Gonsales de Lara, Governor of Cordova, aware of the design of the enemy, hastily collected some troops and threw himself into Exija, where he was shortly after joined by a great number of Christians who came to range themselves under his standard. This general finding himself at the head of so considerable an army, advanced to meet the King of Morocco. The combat was long and sanguinary; but at length valour was forced to submit to superior numbers, and the Christians were put to flight, after having lost four thousand

thousand infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry. The Spanish general being killed during the action, Jacoub sent his head to the King of Grenada, as a token of his victory. This defeat discouraged the Christians, at the same time that it raised the hopes of the Musulmans.

Don Sancho, archbishop of Toledo, and son to the King of Arragon, being informed of this sad disaster, raised troops at Toledo, Madrid, Guadalaxara, and Talavera, and took the road to Andalusia; while in the mean time the King of Grenada carried fire and sword wherever he could in the kingdom of Jaen, as he had agreed with Jacoub. Don Sancho determined to attack him, and flattered himself he could easily conquer an enemy loaded with booty. In vain, did the principal officers of his army represent to him that he should wait the ar-

rival of Don Lopez Dias de Haro, who was approaching with a considerable reinforcement. The prelate, who did not wish to share with any one the glory of the day, was deaf to all remonstrances, and hastened to give battle to the King of Grenada ; but the entire defeat of his army was the consequence of his imprudence, and he was himself made prisoner by the enemy. The taking of so illustrious a captive was however nearly fatal to the conquerors: for the Moors of Grenada and those of Africa contended for the possession of the person of the prelate, and were on the point of coming to hostilities, when Altar, Governor of Malaga, made a blow with a sabre at the head of Don Sancho, and terminated their differences by the death of the prisoner. The Moors immediately cut off the head of the prelate, and the left hand which bore

bore the episcopal ring. (A. D. 1275.) Lopez de Haro arrived in a little time after this unfortunate combat, and charged the Arabs, who were in disorder; but the darkness of night prevented him from gaining a complete victory. *

The two Moors acting in concert, gained some advantages; but the criminal revolt of the Infant of Castile, Sancho, against his father, Alphonso the Wise, at once disunited the Musulman Monarchs, and Mahomet the King of Grenada took the part of the rebellious son. Alphonso, abandoned by his subjects, implored the aid of the King of Morocco; and Jacoub having repassed the sea accompanied by his troops, had a meeting with Alphonso at Zahra. At that celebrated interview, the unfortunate

* Cardonne. Maurigny.

tunate Castilian was willing to yield the
 place of honour to the man who came
 to defend him; but Jacoub declined it,
 saying at the same time to Alphonso,
 “ it belongs to you, inasmuch as you
 “ are unfortunate. I come to defend
 “ the rights of a parent, to punish an
 “ ungrateful creature, who has derived
 “ his existence from you, and desires to
 “ deprive you of your crown. When I
 “ shall have fulfilled that duty; when
 “ you will be happy and powerful, I
 “ shall return to dispute our pretensions,
 “ and again become your enemy.”

Alphonso was not so magnanimous
 as to confide in a monarch who enter-
 tained such noble sentiments, but he re-
 tired privately from his camp; and
 shortly afterwards died (A. D. 1284),
 disinheriting the guilty Sancho, who did
 not reign long after him.

Sancho,

Sancho, surnamed the brave, who carried arms against his father and succeeded to the throne after him, was the second son of Alphonso the Wise. The eldest, Ferdinand de la Cerda, an amiable and virtuous prince, died in the flower of his days, leaving in the cradle two children by his wife Blanche, daughter to Saint Louis, King of France. It was to deprive these children of their right to the crown that the ambitious Sancho made war against his father, and succeeded in his criminal design ; but the Princes de la Cerda, protected by France and Arragon, and rallying round them all the malcontents of Castile, were the cause or the pretext for tedious and sanguinary divisions. Whilst these new disturbances were agitating Castile, Mahomet seized the opportunity to penetrate

into Andalusia, where he gained some battles, possessed himself of several places, and terminated by these victories, a reign long and glorious (A. D. 1302).

CHAPTER XVII.

The Fine Arts of Grenada Description of Alhambra The Court of the Lions Generalif Reign of Mahomed III. el Hama, or the Blind.

HIS son, Mahomet III., succeeded him. Mahomet, surnamed *Emir al Mumenim*, whose principal political actions have just been detailed, was a prince devoted to the fine arts, and attracted to his court those whom poetry, philosophy, or astronomy, had rendered celebrated.

The Musulmans were, at this time, so superior to the Spaniards in their knowledge of the sciences, that Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile, from whom we have the astronomical tables called the *Alphonsine*,

Alphonsine, applied to the learned Arabians to assist him in their regulation. Grenada began to replace Cordova; architecture, above all other sciences, made the greatest progress. It was in the reign of Mahomet II. that the famous palace of Alhambra was commenced, a great part of which still remains to astonish those travellers, whom its name alone attracts to Grenada, and proves to what a pitch of perfection the Musulmans had carried that art, so little known to the Europeans, of rendering magnificence subservient to the purposes of pleasure. I should not be pardoned, perhaps, if I did not give some detail of this singular monument of voluptuousness, as it may serve to convey an idea of the manners and particular customs of the Musulmans.

Alhambra was a vast fortress, constructed

structed on one of the two hills inclosed in Grenada. This hill, encompassed on all sides by the waters of the Xenil and the Darro, was again defended by a double inclosure of walls, and it was on the summit of this eminence, which commanded the whole city, and whence can be seen at a distance one of the most beautiful views in the universe, in the middle of an esplanade covered with trees and adorned with fountains, that Mahomet chose the site of his palace.

Nothing of what we at present know of architecture, can give us any representation of that of the Musulmans. They heaped up buildings without order or symmetry, without paying any attention to the aspect they offered from without, all their care being to adorn the interior, on which they exhausted the resources of taste and magnificence, to
combine

combine in their apartments, the accommodations of luxury with the charms of rural nature. There, in saloons lined with marble and paved with shining delf, close to luxurious couches covered with cloth of gold and silver, *jets d'eau* spouted up to the vaulted cielings, whilst the most precious vases exhaled perfumes, and living myrtles, orange-trees, and flowers added their fragrance.

The beautiful palace of Alhambra, which may still be seen at Grenada, did not present any front ; but was approached by a charming promenade, intersected frequently by a rivulet, which meandered among trees of luxuriant foliage.

The entrance is a large square tower, which was formerly called the gate of judgment ; and an inscription of a religious nature points out that it was here the king distributed justice, according
to

to the ancient custom of the Hebrews and of the people of the East. Many buildings which formerly succeeded to this tower have been destroyed, to supply materials for a magnificent palace for Charles V. of Spain, the description of which is foreign to the present subject.

On entering the northern side of the ancient palace of the Musulman Kings, one is led to suppose oneself transported to the land of the fairies. The first court is a longitudinal square, with a gallery and arcades, the walls and ceilings of which are covered with mosaic work, festoons, whimsical ornaments, gildings, carvings, and stucco, of the most admirable workmanship. The walls are covered with passages from the Koran or such like sentiments, which serve to give an idea of the figurative stile of the Musulmans, of which

which the following is a specimen:—

“ Oh ! Nazar, the throne-born, and re-
 “ sembling the star which announces to
 “ us the day, you shine not but in your
 “ own lustre ; your arm is our rampart,
 “ your justice our instruction. Thou
 “ hast subdued, by thy valour, those
 “ who associate with the Almighty.
 “ Thou renderest happy, by thy bounty,
 “ the numerous children of thy people.
 “ The stars of the firmament illuminate
 “ thee with respect, the sun with love ;
 “ and the cedar of the forest, which
 “ bows down before thee its haughty
 “ head, is elevated by thy powerful
 “ hand.”

In the midst of this court, paved with white marble, there is a long bason filled with running water, sufficiently deep to afford the recreation of swimming, and which was formerly enclosed, on either side,

side, by borders of flowers and walks of orange-trees. This place, called the *Mesuar*, served as the common bath of those attached to the service of the court. The passage hence leads to the celebrated court called that of the lions, which is one hundred feet in length by fifty in breadth. A colonnade of white marble supports a gallery, which reaches along its whole extent. These columns, placed in pairs and sometimes in threes, are slender to a singular degree; but their lightness and their grace is peculiarly pleasing to the astonished eye. The walls, and above all, the cielings of the surrounding gallery, are covered with gold and azure paint and stucco, worked in arabesque, and executed with a degree of care and delicacy, which our most skilful modern artists would find it difficult to imitate. In the middle of
flower

flower pieces and other ornaments, always varying, we read these passages of the Koran, which all good Muslims, ought to repeat without ceasing :
 “ God is great, God is the supreme conqueror ; there is no God but God.
 “ Celestial gaiety, exultations of heart,
 “ and delights of the soul, await those
 “ who believe.”

At the two extremities of the long square, two beautiful cupolas, from fifteen to sixteen feet in height, project from the interior, supported, like the rest, by marble columns. Under these cupolas are fountains. At last, in the centre of the edifice, arises a superb cup of alabaster, six feet in diameter, supported by twelve lions of white marble. The cup, which is supposed to have been made after the model of the sea of bronze in the temple of Solomon, is

is again surmounted by a smaller cup, whence shoots up a grand gush of water, which falling down from one cistern to the other, and from these cisterns to the great basin, forms a continual cascade, increased by the streams of limpid water which is thrown out from the mouths of the lions.

This fountain, like the rest of the edifice, is adorned with inscriptions ; for the Arabs amused themselves in mingling poetry with sculpture. Their ideas may seem to us abstruse, and their language bombastic ; but we are so little acquainted with their manners, and know so little of the spirit of their language, that we have not a right to judge them too severely. The verses which were composed in Spain and in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, cannot boast any superiority over those en-

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graved

graved on the fountain of lions. “ Oh
 “ thou who examinest these lions, con-
 “ sider that they want nothing but life.
 “ —Oh Mahomet, our King, may God
 “ preserve thee, for the noble work
 “ which thou hast raised to adorn me !
 “ Thy mind is embellished with the most
 “ amiable virtues. This charming place
 “ is the image of thy fine qualities.—
 “ Our King in battle is terrible as those
 “ lions ; nothing can be compared to the
 “ limpid stream which leaps from my
 “ bosom, and is elevated high in air, but
 “ the liberal hand of Mahomet.” *

It is not necessary to describe, at length, the other remains which are still left of Alhambra. One served as a hall of audience or justice ; another contains the

* Du Perron, Voyage d'Espagne, page 195, vol. i.

the baths of the King, the Queen, and their children; and we can yet see their bedchamber, where the couches, close to a fountain, were placed in alcoves covered with delf. In the saloon of music, four elevated tribunes were filled with the performers, whilst the whole court were seated on carpets round a basin of alabaster. In the chamber where the Queen dressed herself or said her prayers, and from which the view is enchanting, is a slab of marble, pierced with an infinity of apertures, to permit the exhalation of the perfumes, which were burned unceasingly in the vaults beneath. Throughout the whole, the windows, doors, and openings, are managed in such a manner, as to afford aspects the most chearful; the effects of light so modified, as to produce the most pleasing repose to the gratified eye; and the

currents of air so well directed, as to come refreshed every instant, with that delicious coolness breathed only in this edifice.

On quitting the Alhambra we enter the famous garden of *Generalif*, which name expresses in Arabic “the habitation of love.” In this garden was a palace, built in the same style as the Alhambra and characterised by the same magnificence, in which the Kings of Grenada used to pass the spring of the year. The palace no longer remains, but the *Generalif* still possesses its picturesque situation, and its points of view so varying and always pleasing. The fountains and cascades, which played on every side; the terraces which rose one above another, paved with mosaic work, are now shaded by immense cypress trees and ancient myrtles, which in their younger

younger state afforded a shade, in former times, to the Kings and Queens of Grenada. At the present day the thicket flourishes, and the forests of fruit trees are intermixed with gloomy groves, with domes and pavilions. Nothing remains of the former grandeur of Generalif, but what it was impossible to take away, and yet it is that place on earth, which speaks most pointedly to the eye and to the heart.

However reluctantly, yet we must quit Alhambra and Generalif, and return to the detail of the ravages, incursions and sanguinary contests of the Musulmans and Castilians.

(A. D. 1302.) Mahomet III, called the blind, in consequence of a defect in his sight, had to oppose at this time his own subjects as well as the Spaniards. Obligated by his infirmity to chuse a prime

minister, he conferred that important office on Farady, the husband of his sister; a statesman and an experienced general, who maintained without loss the war against the Christians, and concluded with them a very honourable peace.

The courtiers, envious of his glory, and above all irritated by the good fortune of a favourite, conspired against his master, and excited a revolt; and to crown his calamities, the King of Castile, Ferdinand IV, surnamed the * Summoned,

* Ferdinand IV, the son and successor to Sancho the Brave, was an infant when he came to the throne. His minority was much troubled: but the genius and the great qualities of the Queen Mary, his mother, enabled her to calm these factions. He was surnamed the *Summoned*, because, in a fit of anger, having caused two brothers, of the name of *Carvajal*, accused but not convicted of an assassination, to be precipitated from the top of a rock, these two brothers,

moned, formed an alliance with the King of Arragon to attack the Grenadine. Gibraltar was taken by the Castilian; and the conqueror expelled the Musulmans. Amongst the unfortunate sufferers, one old man who was leaving the town perceived Ferdinand, and approaching near to him, leaning on his crutch, addressed him in these words: “ King
 “ of Castile, what harm have I done thee
 “ or thine? Your great grandsire, Fer-
 “ dinand, forced me from Seville, my
 “ country. I went to seek an asylum in

T 4

“ Xerès ;

thers, to the last moment, protested their innocence, and summoned the passionate Ferdinand to appear, in thirty days, before the Judge of Kings; at which precise time Ferdinand, who was marching against the Musulmans, having retired to sleep after dinner, was found dead in his bed. The people of Spain do not doubt that his sudden death was the effect of divine justice.

“ Xeres ; your ancestor, Alphonso, forc-
 “ ed me to leave that place. Retired
 “ within the walls of Tarifa, your father,
 “ Sancho, made me an exile. At length
 “ I have come to find a tomb in the ex-
 “ tremity of Spain, on the Rock of Gi-
 “ braltar, and your fury still pursues me.
 “ Point out to me, then, one place on
 “ earth, where I can die, away from the
 “ Spaniards.” — “ Cross the sea,” answer-
 ed Ferdinand, and caused him to be con-
 veyed to Africa.

Conquered by the Arragonese, pressed
 by the Castilians, and doubtful of his
 own subjects, whom the grandees of his
 court had excited to revolt, the King of
 Grenada and his minister Farady were
 forced to make a dishonourable peace.
 The storm immediately burst. Mahomet
 Abenazar, brother to Mahomet the Blind,
 and the head of the conspiracy, laid
 hands

hands upon the unfortunate prince, put him to death, and assumed his place (A. D. 1310) ; but was himself in a short time forced to fly by Farady, the old minister, who not daring in his own person to wear the crown, placed it on the head of his son Ismael (A. D. 1313), nephew to Mahomet the Blind, by his mother, the sister of that monarch.

From that moment the royal family of Grenada never ceased to be divided into two branches of hostile interests. The one, called that of Alhamar, which descended from the first male monarch ; the other, denominated Farady, which descended, and derived its title from the female.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Reign of Ismael Reign of Mahomet V. and Joseph I Battle of Salada Siege of Algesiras, first use made of Cannon Reigns of Mahomet VI. and VII. Horrible Crime of Peter the Cruel State of Spain and of Europe.

THE Castilians, whose interest it was to keep up these dissensions amongst the Musulmans, took the part of Abenazar, the refugee. The Infant Don Pedro, uncle to the young King of Castile, Alphonso, surnamed the Revenger, attacked Ismael and gained an advantage over the Musulmans; and assisted by another Infant of Spain, called Don Juan, carried fire and sword to the very ramparts of Grenada.

The Musulmans did not attempt to
attack

attack the Christians while they remained before the town, but when the latter, loaded with booty, were on their return towards Castile, Ismael caused them to be pursued by his army, which in a short time overtook them and fell upon the rear guard,¹ on the twenty-sixth of June, at the hour of the most excessive heat of the day. (A. D. 1319.) Both the Spanish princes used their utmost efforts, and made the greatest exertions to resist the assailants; but their soldiers, exhausted with thirst and fatigue, fell dead on all sides, without scarcely receiving a blow, or took to flight, leaving in the hands of their enemies their baggage and the body of one of their unfortunate princes. Ismael caused the body to be carried to Grenada, deposited it in a coffin covered with cloth of gold, and

and sent it back to the Castilians, after having paid to it due funeral honours.*

The fruits of this victory were the capture of some towns, and the concluding an honourable treaty. Ismael, however, did not long enjoy his success, for being smitten by the charms of a young Spanish captive who fell to the share of one of his officers, he was rash enough to deprive him of his prize: an outrage, amongst the Musulmans, always expiated by blood, and which accordingly led to the assassination of the king by the officer. He was succeeded by Mahomet, his son, who mounted the throne A. D. 1322.

The reign of Mahomet, and that of Joseph

* The mountains in the vicinity of Grenada, where this battle was fought, were henceforward called, "La Sierra de los Infantes."

Joseph the first, his successor, both of whom ended their days in the same manner, being massacred in their palace, presents nothing, during thirty years, but a continual succession of robberies, seditions, and contests. Aboul Hassan, King of Morocco, of the dynasty of the Merinis, invited by the Grenadines, arrived in Spain, followed by an innumerable army, which together with that of Joseph laid siege to Tariffa. (A. D. 1340.) The Kings of Castile and Portugal united to oppose this great army, on the banks of the Salada, not far from the town of Tariffa ; and the battle which ensued, equally celebrated in the history of Spain as the victory of Toloza, cost the life of thousands of the Muslims.

The Christians, amounting to fourteen thousand cavalry and twenty-five thousand

sand infantry, left Seville with a determined resolution to give the enemy battle or to force them to retire from before Tariffa.* The Kings of Morocco and Grenada, being apprised of the march of Alphonso, immediately raised the siege, and

* It was during the siege of Tariffa, that Alphonso de Gusman, governor of the town for the Spaniards, gave an example of heroism worthy of ancient Rome, but which must not be canvassed by those possessed of paternal feelings. The son of Gusman was taken in a sortie. The besiegers conducted him under the walls, and threatened the governor to sacrifice his son, if he would not surrender. Gusman, as a decisive answer, threw them a poignard and retired from the battlements. In a moment after he heard the Spaniards raising loud acclamations, and returning to demand the cause of the alarm, they told him that the Africans were proceeding to strangle his son. "God be praised," answered he, "I thought the town was taken."

and possessed themselves of all the hills which were in the vicinity of the town, under the idea that the victory would depend upon their being masters of those heights. The Christians were near the village called La Roche de Cerfe. The day was too much advanced to commence the action ; the two armies, therefore, passed the night under arms, and were eagerly occupied in preparing for a sanguinary conflict the next day. Alphonso, taking advantage of the darkness of the night, sent a detachment of one thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, with orders to attack the enemy in the rear, and to force them from the heights they occupied. At the break of day the two nations, impatient to come to blows, prepared themselves for battle. The Salada, a little river of Andalusia, which empties itself almost immediately
into

into the sea, (become celebrated, since this day, from the sanguinary battle fought upon its banks,) separated the two armies. The action was commenced by those who first forded the river. Aboul Hassan, having detached two thousand men to dispute the passage of the enemy, advanced with a view of supporting them, whilst Lara and Emanuel, who were at the head of the advanced guard of the Christians, instead of marching against the prince, whether from timidity on their part, or that they had a private understanding with the Musulmans, did not move. Gonsales and Garcias, who commanded a corps of infantry, having passed the river by a bridge, were the first to attack the forces of the King of Morocco. They sustained the shock of the enemy with great intrepidity; but at length, overpowered by

by numbers, were on the point of giving way, when Alvares de Gusman came to their support and renewed the action. He was followed by the whole Christian army. The King of Portugal attacked the Musulmans who were posted on the hills, and Alphonso made a vigorous charge on those who occupied the sea shore. The action now became general. Each nation, encouraged by the presence and example of its sovereign, fought a long time with equal fury. No corps was seen to yield, and when one soldier was slain his place was supplied by another.

Whilst the two armies were thus employed in slaughtering each other, a body of Spanish troops, having made a grand detour, attacked the enemy's camp, fell upon the baggage, and destroyed the whole; which accident spread such terror

and confusion amongst the Arabs, as to cause their total discomfiture. Never was a victory more complete. Besides a great number of prisoners, and two hundred thousand Arabs killed in the action or after the rout, the King of Morocco lost his two sons, and was himself wounded. Fatima, the dearest of his wives, daughter of the King of Tunis, fell into the hands of the enemy; and the camp of the Musulmans, and all the riches which it contained, became a prey to the conquerors. This battle was fought on Monday, the 3d of November 1340; and of the Hegira, the seventh day of the moon of Djemazil-Evil, in the year 741.

Aboul Hassan retired to conceal his disgrace in his states of Morocco. The strong position of Algeziras, and the fortress of Grenada, the grand depot of
the

the succours received from Africa, was besieged by the Castilians (A. D. 1342), who were joined by a number of cavaliers from England and Navarre. In defence of these places the Musulmans availed themselves of the use of cannon; and this is the first time in which those terrible engines are spoken of in history; for the battle of Cressy, in which we are assured they were used by the English, did not occur until four years afterwards. It is therefore to the Musulmans we are indebted, not only for the invention of gunpowder (which has been variously attributed to the Chinese, to a Dutch friar, named Schwarts, and to the English philosopher, Roger Bacon), but even also for the tremendous invention of artillery.

It is rather astonishing that the Arabs should have used cannon before the Spaniards,

niards, but the fact is certain. Don Pedro, Bishop of Leon, in his chronicle of the life of Alphonso, says, that in a battle fought between the King of Tunis and the Moorish King of Seville, more than five hundred years since, those of Tunis had a kind of cask made of iron, with which they produced a thundering power accompanied by fire. Pier Messie says, that the Moors, who were besieged, in the year 1343, by Alphonso XI, King of Castile, used a kind of mortar of iron, which produced a noise like thunder; and I recollect myself to have seen in the Bay of Marmorin, in Asia, one of these ancient pieces of ordnance, constructed of bars of iron, bound together by strong hoops of the same metal.

Notwithstanding the assistance derived from the use of artillery, Algeziras was taken (A.D. 1344); and the unfortunate

fortunate King of Grenada, Joseph, continually defeated by the Christians, was at length assassinated by his own subjects (A.D. 1354).

It must be observed here, that amongst the Musulmans, the succession to the crown was not regulated by any law ; notwithstanding which, in the midst of conspiracies, which were unceasingly formed, a prince descended from the royal race was uniformly chosen ; and we find, as before noticed, that the dynasty of Grenada was divided after the time of Ismael, between the descendants of Alhamar and those of Farady. The former, however, who had been deposed by the latter, always looked upon their rivals, in every sense of the word, as usurpers ; and hence arose numerous tumults, conspiracies, and assassinations.

Joseph I. was succeeded by his uncle, a prince of the race of Farady, named Mahomet the Sixth, and called the Old because he came to the throne at an advanced age. A prince of the race of Alhamar, his cousin, who styled himself Mahomet the Red, drove the Faradyan from the throne (A. D. 1360), and occupied it some time under the protection of the King of Arragon. Peter the cruel, then King of Castile, espoused the cause of the unfortunate Faradyan, supported him with an army, and so effectually oppressed Mahomet that the Alhamar had no other resource left, than to go to Seville, and to place himself at the discretion of Peter. Followed by his most confidential friends, and bringing with him considerable treasures, he presented himself before Peter, with a noble confidence. “King of Castile,” said he
to

to him, “ the blood of the Christians
 “ and of the Musulmans has been shed
 “ too long in the quarrels between my-
 “ self and the Faradyan. You protect
 “ my competitor, and it is you whom I
 “ have chosen to be my arbitrator. Ex-
 “ amine my rights and his, and pro-
 “ nounce which of us ought to be king.
 “ If it be the Faradyan, I demand no
 “ more than safe conduct to Africa ; if
 “ it be myself, receive the homage which
 “ I come to pay you for my dominions.”

Peter, astonished at this conduct, was prodigal of favours and honours to the Moorish King, and caused him to be seated at his side at a most magnificent banquet. On rising from table, however, Mahomet was put in prison, from whence, after being led all over the town, half naked and riding on an ass, he was conducted to a field called the

Tablada, where the heads of thirty-seven of his suite were cut off before his eyes. The execrable Peter, envying the executioners the pleasure of spilling blood, then pierced, with his own lance, the unfortunate King of Grenada, who only reproached him in these dying words :
 “ Oh Peter, Peter, what an exploit for a
 “ soldier !” (A. D. 1362.)

By a very extraordinary fatality all the thrones of Spain were, at this time, occupied by princes blackened with crimes. Peter the Cruel, the Nero of Castile, assassinated the king who placed confidence in him, occasioned the death of his wife Blanche de Bourbon, and bathed himself every day in the blood of his relations or of his subjects. Peter IV, the Tiberius of Arragon, less violent, but equally barbarous

* *Cronicas de los Reies de Castilla*, tome i.

barous and more perfidious than the Castilian, beheaded one of his brothers. James, King of Majorca, ordered the death of the other James, Count de Orguel, and delivered to the executioners Bernard Cabrera, his venerable governor. Peter I, King of Portugal, lover of the celebrated Ines de Castro, rendered no doubt ferocious by the cruelties which were offered to his mistress, tore the hearts from the bodies of the murderers of Ines, and punished with poison the conduct of his sister Maria.

Portugal, Gonzales, Pacheco, and Coelho; and as Coimbra* is the city in which these incidents occurred, a concise detail of this interesting story will, it is hoped, be excused.

Portugal
* Where the materials for this work were chiefly collected.

CHAPTER XIX.

The unfortunate Fate of Ines de Castro, and the Excesses and Cruelties exercised by Peter in consequence.

THE passion of Peter of Portugal for Agnes de Castro was carried to such an excess, as to excuse, perhaps, the atrocities which he exercised against the murderers of his mistress. These murderers were three principal noblemen of Portugal, Gonzales, Pacheco, and Coello; and as Coimbra* is the city in which these incidents occurred, a concise detail of this interesting story will, it is hoped, be excused.

Portugal

* Where the materials for this work were chiefly collected.

Portugal had seen but few princes of so much promise as Peter, who, from his youth up, had exhibited such a love for justice and correctness of conduct as to acquire him the greatest reputation.

He married, in 1332, Donna Constance Manuel of Castile, by whom he had many children. Agnes was one of the maids of honour to that princess, belonged to one of the first families of Portugal, even so illustrious as might have claimed an alliance with the blood royal, and was equally esteemed for her extraordinary beauty, wit, and engaging manners. (A. D. 1340.) The Prince became enamoured of Donna Agnes, and as he was himself extremely amiable, was equally beloved in return; of which attachment, it is said, he enjoyed the most unequivocal assurances. Whatever be
the

the fact, his wife died in 1345, and he still retained sufficient love to induce him to espouse Donna Agnes: but the ceremony was performed clandestinely, because he was perfectly convinced that the king, his father, would not consent to the nuptials; and the bishop of Guarda and Etienne Loüat, master of the wardrobe to the prince, were the only witnesses admitted to the ceremony. From that period, however, he lived publicly with Donna Agnes, and had two sons by her, Don John and Don Dennis.

Whether it was that the king doubted the fact, or that he wished to put an end to this connection, he proposed to his son a second marriage, and selected for him an Infanta of Spain. The prince refused this proposal with firmness; and the king, having laid the affair before his council,

council, they found no other resource than to rid themselves of Donna Agnes.

The three persons, already mentioned, availed themselves of the opportunity when the prince was employed in the chase and repaired to the residence of Agnes. The Quinta de Lachrymas, which derives its present name from this circumstance, is said to have been the scene of this shocking tragedy; and the fountain of tears, which still adorns the gardens, is supposed to be the spot on which the crime was committed.

It was at this fountain, under the shade of an impending rock, surrounded with myrtles, orange, and arbutus trees, that the prince was accustomed to enjoy the caresses of his family and to pass the evenings of summer in the open air, which, cooled by the copious stream issuing from the living rock, and refreshed by the
perfumes

perfumes exhaling from the odoriferous plants surrounding the large marble reservoir, renders this even yet a delightful retreat. Agnes had been waiting here with impatience some time, and despairing of the prince's arrival, had taken the young Don Dennis in her arms and Don John by the hand, and was about to retire, when a rustling amongst the trees arrested her attention, and she stopt with eager anxiety to enjoy the long expected embrace of her fond husband. What must have been her feelings, when the persons of the assassins presented themselves in place of Peter ! She attempted to escape with her lovely babes but was arrested in her progress. In endeavouring to separate the children from the arms of the mother, Coello and Gonzales, struck with her beauty and moved by her tears, relented ; but Pacheco,

checo, reproaching their pusillanimity, plunged his poignard into her bosom, and the others assisted in throwing the bleeding body into the adjoining basin. Shortly after the prince arrived, and was led by the traces of his wife's blood and the cries of his infants to the fountain, in which he discovered the mangled remains of his beloved Agnes.

Never did a prince signalise the fidelity of his love for its object whilst living more than Peter did his for Agnes after she was placed in the tomb. He seemed, from that moment, to lose his reason ; and in place of the virtuous and mild character which he had supported until that period, became ferocious and almost frantic. He took arms against his father, and laid waste with fire and sword the provinces in which the assassins possessed property. When he mounted the throne,

throne, he demanded of Peer the Cruel, King of Castile, that he should deliver up Gonzales and Coello, who had taken refuge in that state : Pacheco had fled into France, where he died. Having got the two former in his power he made them suffer the most cruel tortures, caused their hearts to be torn from their bodies whilst they were yet alive, and was willing even to assist himself at this horrible spectacle.* Having gratified his vengeance, but yet frantic with grief and love, he raised the body of Agnes from the tomb, dressed it in magnificent robes, placed his crown upon her livid and disfigured

* The execution of these assassins took place at Santarem, and while Coello was roasting over a slow fire, Peter is said to have directed the executioners to give the *rabbit* more sauce, alluding to his name, which signifies, in the Portuguese language, that animal.—Le Cat. Hist. d'Espan. et Port.

figured forehead, proclaimed her Queen of Portugal, and forced the grandees of his court to pay her homage.

She was again buried with great pomp, at Alcobaça, where her tomb is still to be seen ; though it is much to be regretted, the French soldiery were permitted to violate and deface it. Nothing however was found of value or interest within it, excepting her long hair, which appeared of an auburn colour, probably the effect of time.

Camoens, the famous Portuguese poet, celebrates the story of Agnes ; and General Trant, the hero of Coimbra, with a praise-worthy liberality, has erected a little monument, near *the Fountain of Tears*, on which are engraved the following lines of the poet.

As filhas do Mondego a morte escura

Longo tempo chorando memoráram :

E, por memoria eterna, em fonte pura

As lagrimas choradas transformáram :

O nome the pozeram, que ainda dura,

Dos amores de Ignez, que alli passaram.

Vede que fresca fonte rega as flores,

Que lagrimas sao agua, e o nome amores.

The water of this fountain is conveyed by an aqueduct along the side of the house, and is sufficiently abundant to turn a mill wheel. It was to this stream, as reported, that the lovely Agnes used to entrust her *billets-doux*, corked up in bottles, to be conveyed to her lover, when the king's guards prevented an interview with the enamoured Peter.

This Quinta de Lacrymas is at present occupied by the very amiable and interesting

interesting family of Signior de Rosio ;
and the virtuous and lovely Donna
Maria de Rosio is the present repre-
sentative of the unfortunate Agnes de
Castro.

To complete the list of cruel monarchs
reigning at that period, the King of Na-
varre was Charles the Wicked, whose
name alone is yet sufficient to make one
shudder. Spain, inundated with blood,
groaned under the scourge of these four
monarchs ; and, if we turn to history, it
was at the same period that England saw
the commencement of the troubles in the
reign of Richard the Second. France,
also, was then delivered over to the hor-
rors which followed the imprisonment of
King John ; Italy, a prey to the factions
of the Guelphs and Gibelines, counted
two Popes at the same time ; two Em-

perors in Germany disputed the Imperial crown ; and Tamerlane overran Asia, from the country of the Usbecks almost to the peninsula of India. We may be certain there were few epochs in which the world was more unhappy.

CHAPTER XX:

Mahomet VI. resumes the Crown The Sciences cultivated at Grenada Literature and Gallantry of the Musulmans Astonishing Mixture of Gallantry and Ferocity Description of the Women of Grenada Dress and Customs of the Musulmans.

GRENADA became somewhat more tranquil after the enormities of Peter the Cruel. Mahomet the Old, otherwise denominated the Farady, freed from his competitor, resumed the royal dignity without any obstacle, and continued, until the death of the King of Castile, the only ally who remained faithful to that monster. Peter had but little repose, and was finally deprived of his crown and life by his bastard brother, Henry de

Transtamare, in the year 1369. Mahomet made his peace with the conqueror, preserved it for many years, and left his possessions in a flourishing state to his son Mahomet, the eighth Abouhadjad, whom the Spanish historians denominated Mahomet Guadix.

This prince was the best and most sagacious of the kings who governed the Musulmans. Wholly occupied with the happiness of his subjects, he was desirous of maintaining that tranquillity which they had so rarely enjoyed ; and to assure himself of this object, he took the precaution to fortify his strong places, to establish a powerful force, and to form an alliance with the King of Tunis, whose daughter Cadiga he took for his wife. Prepared for war, he sent his ambassadors to the King of Castile to demand his alliance ; and Don John, the son

son and successor of Henry de Trans-
tamare, fully occupied by his quarrels
with Portugal and England, concluded a
treaty. The Abouhadjad did not lose a
moment. Secure on the side of the
Christians, he employed himself in cul-
tivating agriculture and commerce, di-
minished the imposts, and found himself,
in a short time, the possessor of immense
treasures. Adored by the people whom
he rendered happy ; respected by the
Christians whom he did not fear ; pos-
sessed of an amiable wife to whom he
devoted his whole heart ; he employed
the fine arts, the beauties of poetry, the
grandeur of architecture, his time, and
the treasure which remained, in adorning
his capital. He erected many monu-
ments at Grenada and Guadix, towns for
which he had a great predilection, and

made his court the asylum of talents and politeness.

The Musulmans possessed, at this epoch, the universities and academies, in which poetry, medicine, painting, and sculpture, were cultivated, and Abouhadjad encouraged and endowed those establishments most magnificently. The chief part of the works of these Grenadine authors were lost during the conquest, but some were saved, which are now preserved in the library of the Escorial. * These principally treat of grammar and astrology, and are much respected to this day ; others,

* After the capture of Grenada, Cardinal Ximenes caused all the copies of the Koran which he could procure to be committed to the flames ; and the ignorant or superstitious soldiers, mistaking whatever was written in Arabic for that book, consumed, without distinction, an immense number of works in prose and verse.

others, in particular, relate to theology, a science in which the Arabs excelled : * and it may well be supposed that a people gifted with refined sense and ardent imaginations, must have produced great theologians. From their schools were introduced into Europe those scholastic disputants, who were formerly so celebrated, although at present forgotten. The pretended secrets of clubs, the science of alchemy, judicial astrology, the wand of divination ; all those histories so common in old times of sorcerers, magicians, and enchanter, have come to us from the Arabs, who were in all times superstitious ; and there is reason to believe that their long sojournment in Spain, and their long intercourse with the Spaniards, has imprinted on the latter

* See the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana of Cazini.

ter that love for the marvellous, that character of pious credulity so nearly allied to superstition, of which philosophy accuses that lively, sensible, and spirited nation, to whom nature has given the germ of all the finer qualities of human nature. *

One kind of literature common amongst the Moors, the Spaniards have taken from them; that of Novels and Romances. The Arabs always were, and are to this day, great story-tellers. In the midst of the deserts of Asia and Africa, under the tents of the Bedouins, they assemble every evening, to attend to a tale of love, which they listen to in silence, follow with interest, and bewail the misfortunes of the two lovers whose adventures

* Précis Hist. sur les Maures, by M. Florian, page 159.

adventures are recounted. At Grenada they joined to their natural taste for story-telling, a taste for vocal and instrumental music. The poets composed in verse, stories of war or of love; the musicians adapted them to appropriate airs, and the young Moors sung them. It is from these we have derived the innumerable Spanish Romances, translated from or in imitation of the Arabian, which in a simple and sometimes touching style, recount combats with the Christians, quarrels between rivals, and conversations between lovers. In these are described, with the utmost exactness, their festivals; their games; their bull-fights, which they took from the Spaniards; their arms, which consisted of a large scimeter, a very slender lance, a short coat of mail, and a light buckler of leather; their horses, whose
trailing

trailing housings were embroidered with precious stones; their devices, which almost always were a heart pierced with arrows, or perhaps a sail guiding a ship, or the first letter of the name of the beauties whom they loved; their colours, of which each had its signification, yellow and the black expressing grief, green hope, blue jealousy, violet and flame colour the most passionate love.

This delicate and romantic gallantry, which rendered the Moors of Grenada famous all over Europe, formed a singular contrast to the natural ferocity of all the people who came from Africa. These Musulmans, who in battle placed their glory and their address in cutting off skilfully the heads of their enemies, which they attached to the bow of their saddles, and afterwards exposed, flowing with blood, on the battlements of their towns

towns and at the gates of their palaces ; these restless indocile warriors, ever ready to revolt against their kings, to depose or strangle them, became at the same time the most tender, submissive, and impassioned lovers. Their women, although generally slaves, became, when they made a conquest, the most absolute sovereigns and the supreme deities of those whose hearts they possessed. It was to render themselves agreeable to their mistresses that they sought glory ; it was to shine in their eyes, that they were prodigal of their riches and their lives ; that they mutually endeavoured to excel in their achievements and in the most magnificent entertainments. This extraordinary combination of softness and ferocity, of delicacy and barbarity, this eager desire to prove themselves the most valiant and the most constant, did
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it come to the Moors from the Spaniards, or did the Spaniards acquire it from the Moors? It is not easy to determine this point; yet when we consider that this character never existed in Asia, the primary country of these Arabs; when we find less of it in Africa, where their conquests had naturalized them, and that, since their departure from Spain, they have lost even the traces of those amiable and chivalrous manners; there is some reason to award the palm to the Spaniards and Portuguese. In fact, before the invasion of the Moors, the courts of the Gothic Kings already afforded abundant examples of gallantry.

After that epoch we see the princes and the chevaliers of Leon, of Navarre, and Castile, equally renowned for their amours and their achievements. The
 name

name alone of the Cid recalls at once the ideas of tenderness and courage ; and since the expulsion of the Moors the Spaniards have preserved a reputation for gallantry very superior to other European nations, and of which the germ, destroyed at present in other countries, still subsists in Spain and Portugal.

The truth is, that the females of Grenada deserved to inspire so much love ; they were, and are still, the most seducing women imaginable. We read in an Arabian historian,* who wrote at Grenada, in the year 1378 of our era, in the reign of Mahomet the Old, the following portrait of the ladies of his country.

“ They are all beautiful ; but that beauty

* Abi Abdalla-ben Alkahilbi Absaneni Hist. Arabian manuscript in the Escorial.

“ beauty which strikes us at once, re-
 “ ceives afterwards its principal charm
 “ from their graceful and genteel de-
 “ portment. Their stature is under the
 “ middle size; their long black hair
 “ descends to their heels; their teeth,
 “ white as alabaster, embellish their
 “ vermillion lips, which always smile
 “ with a caressing air. The great use
 “ which they make of perfumes of the
 “ most exquisite odour, gives a coolness
 “ and a brilliancy to their skin, which
 “ is not possessed by other Musulmans.
 “ Their gait, their dance, all their move-
 “ ments have a graceful softness and an
 “ elegant negligence, which adorn all
 “ their attractions. Their conversation
 “ is lively and keen, their genius refined
 “ and penetrating; they express them-
 “ selves constantly in sallies of wit, or in
 “ words full of meaning.”

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The dress of these women was composed, as that of the Turks and Persians is now, of a long linen robe without sleeves, confined by a girdle, a Turkish jacket with tight sleeves, large drawers, and slippers of Morocco leather. All these stuffs, extremely fine and generally striped, were buttoned with gold and silver, and adorned with precious stones. Their hair flowed in tresses over their shoulders, and a small, yet very costly bonnet, supported an embroidered veil which fell down to their knees.

The men were habited nearly in the same manner. In their girdle were contained their purse, their handkerchief, and poignard ; a white or coloured turban covered the head ; and over the *doliman*, or jacket, they wore in summer a large and light white robe, and in winter the *albornos*, or African mantle. The

only change which they made in this dress when they went to war, was the addition of a coat of mail, and plates of steel on the crowns of their turbans.

It was a custom in Grenada to assemble together every year, during the autumn, in those charming country-houses by which the city was surrounded. There their minds were occupied by no other ideas than those of pleasure; hunting, music and dancing filling up their days and nights. The dances were very loose, as were the songs and rondos, and the ballads which they sung to each other. If these contradictions of the human mind surprise us, we are equally astonished at this want of modesty amongst a people who were acquainted with love; but in general the eastern nations are little sensible of the virtue of that chastity which we so highly esteem,

esteem, being influenced rather by passion than love, by jealousy than delicacy ; and ignorant how either to suspend or to conceal their sensations.

These details, perhaps too long, will, it is hoped, be excused, as we have no material occurrences to narrate during the calm which Grenada enjoyed under the reign of Abouhadjad. That good king, after having occupied the throne thirteen years, left his flourishing states to his son Joseph, who succeeded him without opposition (A. D. 1392).

CHAPTER XXI.

Reign of Joseph II Folly of the Grand Master of Alcantara Reign of Mahomet IX, Joseph III, and others Troubles in Grenada Reign of Ismael II. and Hulei-Hassam.

JOSEPH II. imitated his father, and wished to preserve the treaty concluded with the Christians, which was however disturbed by a fanatic hermit. This man persuaded the grand master of Alcantara, Martin de Barbuda, a Portuguese, that he was chosen by heaven to chase the Moors from Spain, and promised him, in the name of God, that he should be the conqueror of the Moors, and take Grenada by assault without losing a single soldier.

The credulous grand master, confiding
in

in the accomplishment of this promise, sent without delay ambassadors to Joseph, to declare to him, on his part, that the religion of Mahomet was false and detestable, and that of Jesus Christ the only one which ought to be believed by the human race ; and defied the King of Grenada to a combat of two hundred Moors against one hundred Christians, on condition that the nation which should be vanquished should adopt, without delay, the belief of the nation which proved victorious.

We may easily form an idea of the reception these ambassadors experienced. Joseph had great difficulty in restraining his people from offering violence to the envoys. They were, however, contemptuously dismissed and returned to the grand master, who, surprised at not having received any answer, assembled

y 3 immediately

immediately a thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, and took his departure for the conquest of Grenada, guided by the prophetic hermit.

The King of Castile, Henry III, who, from the commencement of his reign, had been desirous to preserve peace with the Moors, until his states became more tranquil, was displeased to hear of the enterprise of the grand master, to whom he sent positive orders not to pass his frontiers. Barbuda answering, that he must obey God, continued his route. The governors of the towns through which he passed endeavoured in vain to arrest his progress; whilst the people, on the contrary, lavished on him their homage, and hastened to increase his army. It already amounted to six thousand men, when he directed his steps towards that enemy's territory which his foolish

foolish credulity regarded as his conquest. At the first castle he attacked he lost three men and was himself wounded. Surprised beyond measure, as may be supposed, to see his blood flow and his soldiers fall, he called the hermit, and coolly demanded how it could have happened, after his express assurances that he would not lose a single warrior. The hermit told him he did not intend to answer him until the battle raged, and Barbuda did not make any more complaints; but it was not long before he perceived the approaching of an army of fifty thousand Moors (A. D. 1394). The battle immediately commenced, in which the grand master and his three hundred knights perished, performing prodigies of valour. The Moors, after the combat, remarked, with admiration, that these intrepid warriors had received no wounds

but in front, and that each of them, even in death, covered with his body the ground which he had occupied in the combat. The remainder of the Christian troops were either taken or put to flight; and the silence of historians respecting the hermit, gives reason to suppose that he was not the last to make his escape.*

This silly enterprise did not disturb the peace of the two nations: the King of Castile disavowed the conduct of the grand master, and Joseph continued to reign, with glory and tranquillity; but was at length poisoned by means of a magnificent robe, which the King of Fez, his secret enemy, sent him by his ambassadors. Historians assure us, that this robe,

* Ferreras, Compend. Hist. tome viii. Car-
donne, Hist. d'Afrique, tome iii, etc.

robe, impregnated with a subtle poison, occasioned the death of the unfortunate king, in the most excruciating torments, his flesh separating from his bones, and his sufferings lasting thirty days. (A. D. 1396.)

Mahomet IX, his second son, who, even during the lifetime of his father had endeavoured to excite insurrections, usurped the crown from his elder brother Joseph, whom he caused to be shut up in prison. Mahomet possessed valour and some warlike talents. Allied to the King of Tunis, who joined his fleet with that of Grenada, he broke the treaty with Castile, and immediately obtained some advantages ; but the Infant Don Ferdinand, uncle and tutor to the young king, John the Second, was not slow in revenging the Spaniards.

Mahomet IX. reigned but a short
period,

period, and when he was at the point of death, being anxious to secure the crown to his son, he sent one of his principal officers to the prison of his brother with orders to cut off his head. The officer found Joseph engaged in a game of chess with an Iman, and he announced to him with grief the cruel commission which he was charged to execute. Joseph, without much concern, requested time to finish his game ; a trifling favour which the officer did not hesitate to grant ; and fortunately whilst the prince continued his game, a second messenger arrived, bringing the news of the death of Mahomet, and the proclamation of Joseph as his successor on the throne.

This Joseph was a good king ; and the people were happy under his reign. Instead of punishing the seditious, who had assisted Mahomet to deprive him of
the

the crown, he lavished on them favours and employments. He also reared the sons of his brother as his own children; and when his counsellors blamed him for shewing so much indulgence, which they considered as dangerous; "Permit me," said Joseph, "to deprive my enemies of every excuse for having preferred my younger brother."

This excellent prince was afterwards obliged to take up arms against the Christians, but lost several of his towns. He preserved, however, the respect and love of his subjects, and died, after a reign of fifteen years, regretted by the whole kingdom. (A. D. 1423.)

After the death of Joseph the state was distracted by intestine wars. His son and successor, Mahomet X, Abenazar, or Left-handed, was driven from the throne

throne by Mahomet XI, or the Little, who reigned two years ; but the Abencerrages, a powerful tribe at Grenada, reestablished Mahomet the Left-handed, and his competitor perished on the scaffold. (A. D. 1427.)

The inhabitants of Grenada, and all the Moors in general, were divided into tribes, composed of branches of the same family. These tribes were more or less numerous, or more or less considerable, but were never confounded nor divided ; and each of them had a chief, who was a male descendant in a right line from the first head of the family. At Grenada there were thirty-two distinct tribes : these were always enemies to each other ; and it was this hatred, transmitted from father to son, which rendered civil wars so frequent.

During this period the Spaniards attacked

tacked the Musulmans, and carried fire and sword to the very walls of the capital. The whole country was laid waste, the harvests burned, the villages destroyed, and John II, who reigned at this time in Castile, wishing to add to the misfortunes which he had already occasioned to the Grenadines, the misery of civil war, caused to be proclaimed king a person called Joseph Alhamar, grandson of that Mahomet the Red so basely assassinated by Peter the Cruel at Seville. All the discontented ranged themselves under Joseph ; and the Zegrís, a famous tribe inimical to the Abencerrages, espoused the cause of the usurper. Mahomet was again chased from his capital (A. D. 1432), and Joseph IV. Alhamar, occupied the throne six months, and then died ; when Mahomet again resumed his place.

place. After thirteen years of misfortune, he was deposed for the third time (A. D. 1446), taken and shut up in a prison by one of his nephews, named Mahomet XII. Osmin, who was himself dethroned, in his turn, by his own brother, Ismael, and finished his days in the same dungeon where his uncle, Mahomet the Left-handed, had languished. (A.D. 1453.)

So many revolutions did not prevent the Christian governors, or the Moors who commanded on the frontiers, from making unceasing irruptions into the enemy's country. At one time a petty troop of cavalry or infantry surprised a village, massacred the inhabitants, pillaged the houses, and carried off the flocks; at another time, an army suddenly appeared on the plain, laid waste
the

the country, plucked up the vines, cut down the trees, besieged and possessed themselves of some place, and retired with their booty. This mode of warfare was the most ruinous of all to the unfortunate farmer; and under the reign of Ismael II. the province of Grenada had suffered so much, that the king was obliged to root up large forests to supply his capital; which retained scarce any part of that vast and fertile *Vega*, so many times desolated by the Spaniards.

Ismael II. left his crown to his son Mulei Hassan (A. D. 1465), a young prince full of courage, who profiting by the troubles of Castile, under the deplorable reign of Henry IV, surnamed the Impotent, carried his arms to the very centre of Andalusia. The successes
which

which he gained, his talents and warlike ardour, occasioned the Moors to conceive the hope of recovering under his government their ancient power; but a great event occurred which arrested their victories and prepared their total ruin.

CHAPTER XXII.

Ferdinand and Isabella Their Character

War is declared Taking of Alhama Civil

War amongst the Musulmans Boabdil proclaimed King Is taken Prisoner by the Spaniards, and afterwards liberated.

ISABELLA of Castile, sister of Henry the Impotent, in spite of obstacles which appeared insurmountable, and contrary to the wishes of the king her brother, espoused the King of Sicily, Ferdinand, called the Catholic, the presumptive heir to the kingdom of Arragon.

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella took place in a very singular manner. After having agreed to espouse the Prince de Viane, Don Carlos, the elder brother of Ferdinand, and whose life

and misfortunes form so interesting a portion of the history of Spain ; after having been promised to Cacheco, the grand master of Calatrava, and sought after by Alphonso, King of Portugal, by the Duke of Guienne, brother to Louis XI, King of France, and by the brother of Edward, King of England, Isabella decided in favour of the young Ferdinand, heir of Arragon, and already King of Sicily. It was necessary to deceive her brother, Henry IV, who formally opposed the marriage ; and Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, who consumed his long life in intrigues and factions, undertook the entire arrangement. He accordingly conveyed the Queen from the court of the King, and placed her in safety at Valladolid ; after which the young Ferdinand arrived in the greatest secrecy with a train only of four cavaliers. The
marriage

marriage was immediately solemnized, in as simple and as secret a manner as possible ; and the new married pair, who were destined one day to become possessors of the treasures of the New World, were even necessitated to borrow from their servants, the money necessary to defray the very moderate expenses of their nuptials. They separated shortly afterwards ; and when the King of Castile became acquainted with the event, tumults, factions, and civil wars were the woeful consequence.

Isabella was a little older than Ferdinand. She was small but well made ; her hair was extremely fair, her eyes sharp and full of fire, her complexion a little olive, and her countenance the most interesting and agreeable. Ferdinand was of the middle size ; his complexion extremely dark, his eyes black

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and lively, his air grave and always composed. Sober to excess, he never ate more than two meals in the day, and drank only twice during the repast. Their moral character is sufficiently celebrated. *

This marriage, by uniting two of the most powerful monarchs of Spain, gave a mortal blow to the Moors, who, at this time, were only supported by the divisions of the Christians. One alone of the two enemies which they were about to have to contend with was sufficient to annihilate them. Ferdinand, a skilful politician, keen, pliant and firm at times, prudent even to mistrust, subtle to deceit, possessed the superior talents of discern-
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* Révolutions d'Espagne, tom. iv. liv. 8; Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii. liv. 25; Hist. de Ferdinand et Isabella, par M. l'Abbé Mignat, etc.

ing at a distance and with one glance, all the paths which led to his object. Isabella, more noble and of more elevated sentiments, endowed with heroic courage, a constancy often tried, knew how to pursue an enterprize, and, above all, to effect its accomplishment. The character of each ennobled the mind of the other.

As soon as these two monarchs had dispersed factions, vanquished their foreign enemies, pacified domestic troubles, and had settled themselves in the immense succession, which had been long disputed with them, they occupied themselves entirely in their design of expelling the Moors. The age seemed to be destined for the establishment of the glory of Spain. Independently of the numerous advantages which the union of their forces afforded them, Ferdinand and Isabella were surrounded by men of

superior abilities. The celebrated Ximenes, a simple friar, but afterwards cardinal, was at the head of their councils ; and that experienced minister led all Spain, as he said himself, at his girdle. The civil wars had formed a croud of warriors and excellent generals, amongst whom were the Count de Cabra, the Marquis of Cadix, and above all the famous Gonsalve of Cordova, to whom all Europe and its history have confirmed the surname of the *Great Captain*, which was conferred upon him by his country. The public treasury, exhausted by the foolish prodigality of Henry, was shortly replenished by the strict economy of Isabella, and by means of the bull obtained from the Pope to tax the property of the ecclesiastics. The troops were disciplined and numerous ; the emulation of the Castilians and Arragonese augmented

augmented their valour ; and every thing announced the certain overthrow of the last throne of the Musulmans.

Mulei Hassan, who occupied that throne, was not at all disconcerted in the midst of so many dangers ; but was the first to break his treaty, and possessed himself of Zahra (A. D. 1481). Ferdinand remonstrated by his ambassadors, and, at the same time, demanded the ancient tribute paid by the Kings of Granada to the Sovereigns of Castile. “ I “ know,” answered Mulei, “ that some “ of my predecessors have given you “ pieces of gold, but no money has been “ furnished during my reign. Behold “ the only metal which I can offer to the “ Spaniards.” On saying which he presented the point of his lance.

The army of Ferdinand marched directly towards Alhama, a very strong

place in the neighbourhood of Grenada, celebrated for its magnificent baths, which the kings of the Moors had adorned. Alhama was surprised by the Christians, and a war was kindled never more to be extinguished. The successes of either party were for some time equally balanced. Mulei possessed numerous troops, a grand treasury, and a powerful artillery; and might have defended himself for a long time, had not one act of imprudence on his part plunged him for ever into an abyss of misfortunes.

Mulei was the husband of a Moorish lady, named Aixa, of one of the first tribes of Grenada, and had by her a son, called Boabdil, who was heir to his throne; but smitten by the charms of a Christian slave, who governed him at her will, Mulei repudiated his wife Aixa. This was the signal for civil war. The outrageous

outrageous wife, assisted by the culpable Boabdil, excited to revolt her parents, friends, and the half of Grenada. Mulei Hassan was driven from his capital; Boabdil assumed the title of King; and the father and the son disputed at the sword's point a sceptre, which they were both finally deprived of by Ferdinand.

(A. D. 1483.) To crown these misfortunes, a brother of Mulei, named Zagal, who had placed himself at the head of some troops, and gained considerable advantages over the Spaniards in the defiles of Malaga, had by that victory obtained the love and esteem of the Musulmans, and conceived the hope of being able to dethrone his brother and his nephew. The state became disturbed by this third party. Boabdil trembled at Grenada, and wishing to achieve some
brilliant

brilliant action which might reanimate the factions already disposed to abandon him, he made a sally at the head of a small army, in order to surprise Lucene, a town belonging to the Castilians; but was taken prisoner, and was the first Moorish King who became a captive to the Spaniards. Ferdinand was lavish of his kindness towards the unfortunate monarch, and caused him to be guarded at Cordova.

Mulei Hassan seized this moment to repossess himself of the crown which he had been deprived of by his rebellious son, and in spite of the party of Zagal he reentered his capital. He could not, however, offer more than a feeble resistance to the progress of the Castilians, who, in all parts, subdued the towns, and advanced every day towards Grenada; where the unfortunate Musulmans gave themselves

themselves up to intestine contests. To increase these bloody divisions, which already presaged their ruin, the artful Ferdinand set Boabdil at liberty, and even became the ally of his captive, promising to aid him against his father, on condition that he should pay a tribute of twelve thousand pieces of gold, acknowledge himself his vassal, and deliver up certain places. The base Boabdil subscribed to the whole of the terms, and supported by Ferdinand, hastened to make war upon Mulei.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Musulmans hasten their own Destruction

Boabdil reigns alone at Grenada Siege of that

City Isabella betakes herself to the Camp

Builds the Town of Santa Fé there Grenada

capitulates Ferdinand and Isabella make their

solemn Entry into the City.

THE kingdom of Grenada now became the field of carnage, where Mulei Hassan, Boabdil and Zagal, pursued each other, sword in hand, and accelerated their mutual destruction. The Spaniards, during this period, advanced from conquest to conquest, sometimes under the pretext of assisting their ally, Boabdil, sometimes rescinding the treaty they had made with him, but always stirring up the fire of discord; stripping, in their turn,

turn, the three parties, and leaving to the vanquished their laws, customs, and the free exercise of their religion.

In the midst of so many troubles, crimes, and calamities, the aged Mulei Hassan died of grief or by the hand of his brother (A. D. 1485). Ferdinand made himself master of the entire eastern portion of the kingdom; and Boabdil, agreed to divide with Zagal the little which remained of that desolated state. Grenada became the property of Boabdil; Guadix and Almeira were ceded to Zagal. The war still continued with unabated fury; and the guilty Zagal, despairing to preserve what he possessed, sold those places to Ferdinand for an annual pension. The treaty being signed, the Catholic king took possession of the towns, and the traitor Zagal did not blush at accepting an

an employment in the Christian army, thus inflicting the last blow on his falling country and his nephew. (A. D. 1490.)

The city of Grenada now alone remained to the Musulmans, where Boabdil still reigned, and irritated by his misfortunes, turned his rage against his subjects, whom he ruled with tyrannical severity. The Kings of Castile and of Arragon, notwithstanding their pretended treaty with this weak monarch, sent him a summons to place his capital in their hands, according to a secret treaty which they pretended subsisted between them. Boabdil protested against such perfidy, but he had not much time to bewail his misfortunes, as it became necessary for him either to fight or to cease to reign. The Moorish King resolved to take the more noble part and to defend himself ;

himself; whilst Ferdinand put himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, the chosen troops of the two kingdoms, and advanced to lay siege to Grenada, on the 9th of May 1491, and of the Hegira 897.

This great city, as has been already mentioned, was defended by strong ramparts, flanked by a thousand and thirty towers, and by a number of works heaped one above another. Notwithstanding the civil wars which had inundated it with blood, it contained more than two hundred thousand men. All that remained of the brave warriors, attached to their country, to their religion, and to their laws, was united within its walls. Despair doubled their strength, and under any other leader than Boabdil this despair might have saved the city; but this weak and ferocious prince, upon suspicion,

picion, or the slightest indication, condemned his most faithful subjects to die by the axe of the executioner, and became the object of hatred and contempt to the Grenadines, who gave him the name of *Zogoybi*, which signifies *the little King*. All the tribes of Grenada, particularly that of the Abencerrages, were discontented and discouraged. The Alfaques and the Imans with a loud voice predicted the termination of the empire of the Musulmans, and the abhorrence which they yet felt for the yoke of the Spaniards alone sustained an indignant people against their enemies and their king.

The troops of Ferdinand, on the contrary, elevated by their recent successes, considered themselves as invincible, and believed that they marched to certain conquest. They saw themselves com-
manded

manded by chiefs whom they adored. Ponce de Leon Marquis of Cadiz, Henry de Gusman Duke of Medina Sidonia, Mendoza Aguilar Villena, and above all Gonsalve of Cordova, and a great number of other famous captains, followed a victorious king. Isabella, whose virtues commanded veneration and respect, whose grace and affability attracted admiration and love, betook herself to the camp with the Infant and her children, attended by the most brilliant court ever hitherto seen in Europe. This great Queen accommodated her manners, naturally reserved, to the circumstances of the times, and combined splendid feasts and public amusements with the hardships of war. Tournaments succeeded to combats, and illuminations, dances, and games, occupied the nights of summer, so delightful in those climates.

Isabella presided over the whole : one word from her lips was a recompence for the greatest hardships, one of her smiles made the lowest soldier a hero. Abundance reigned in the camp ; pleasure and hope animated all hearts : whilst, amongst the Grenadines, mutual mistrust, general consternation, and a certainty of a want of provisions, had cooled their courage.

The siege had lasted nine months. Ferdinand did not attempt an assault against a place so well fortified ; but having devastated the surrounding country, waited patiently until famine should occasion the fall of Grenada. Content to batter the ramparts, to repulse the frequent sorties of the Moors, he did not engage in any decisive action ; but every day more closely confined the enemy, for whom no possibility of escape remained. An accident, during one night, set fire
to

to the tents of Isabella, and the flames consumed the whole camp, but Boabdil took no advantage of the disaster. The Queen wished the Spaniards to build a town on the site of the consumed camp, for the purpose of convincing the Musulmans that the siege would never be raised ; and this idea, equally grand, extraordinary, and worthy of the genius of Isabella, was executed in twenty-four days. The Spaniards established themselves in their new city, which was surrounded by walls, and subsists to this day, preserving the name of Santa Fé, given to it by the pious Queen.

At length, oppressed by famine, vanquished almost constantly in the petty combats which occurred under their walls, abandoned by Africa, which made no effort to save them, the Musulmans

perceived the necessity of surrendering. Gonsalve of Cordova was commissioned by the King to regulate the articles of capitulation. He proposed accordingly that the Grenadines should acknowledge as Sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as their successors to the crown of Castile; that they should release, without ransom, their Christian prisoners; that the Musulmans, always governed by their own laws, should preserve their customs, their judges, a portion of their mosques, and the free exercise of their religion; that they should be enabled to preserve or to sell their property, and be permitted to retire into Africa, or any other country they might choose, without being ever forced by the Castilians to quit Spain; and that Boabdil should enjoy the Apuxares, a
rich

rich and extensive domain, which he should dispose of according to his own wishes.

Such was the capitulation, which the Spaniards observed but badly. Boabdil executed it some days before the time agreed upon, apprehending that his people, excited by the Imans, wished to break it, and to bury themselves under the ruins of Grenada. (A. D. 1492.)

The unfortunate King hastened to deliver over to the Castilians Albazyn and Alhambra; he afterwards carried the keys to Ferdinand, and never more returned into that city. Shortly after, followed by his family and a small number of his servants, he took the road to the doleful domain which they gave him for his kingdom.

When Boabdil (surnamed Chiquito, which signifies the little, from his dimi-

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nutive stature) was departing from his palace to deliver himself up to his conqueror, he took his way through one of the gates of Albazyn, and demanded, as a favour, that no other person should ever be permitted after him to pass that gate, which Ferdinand agreed to without difficulty; and in order that this should be the more carefully observed in all future ages, he ordered it to be inclosed with a wall, as it is at present.

Arrived at the Mount Padul, whence Grenada may be seen, Boabdil cast upon it his last look, whilst tears bedewed his countenance. “My son,” says Aixa, his mother, to him, “you have reason
 “to weep like a woman, for the loss of a
 “throne which you have not defended
 “like a man.”

The unfortunate Musulman could not live a subject in a country where he had
 reigned

reigned so long; but passed over in some little time into Africa, where he was killed in battle.

Isabella and Ferdinand made their entry into Grenada the 2d of January 1492, under the roar of their artillery, between a double line of soldiers. The town appeared deserted, the Moors retiring into their houses and flying from the presence of their conquerors, to conceal their tears and their despair. Their majesties went directly to the mosque, which was transformed into a church, and gave thanks to God for their successes; and whilst they were fulfilling these pious duties, the Count de Tendilla, the new governor of Grenada, set up the triumphal cross, the standard of Castile, and that of St. James, upon the highest towers of Alhambra.

Thus fell this famous city; thus ter-

minated the power of the Moors in Spain, after having existed seven hundred and eighty-two years from the time of the conquest of Tarik.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Causes of the Ruin of the Musulman Empire in Spain and Portugal Qualities of the Musulmans Their Charity Severities suffered by them Another Revolt Their total Expulsion.

WE may remark, in this brief historical sketch, the principal causes of the destruction of the Musulman power in Spain. The first may be attributed to their character; to that spirit of inconstancy, that love of novelty, that eternal inquietude, which caused them so often to change their kings; which multiplied amongst them those factions which distracted their empire by discord, and finally delivered them over to their enemies, bereft of that strength which they had employed against themselves. They had also to upbraid themselves with
their

their rage for magnificence, festivals, and expensive edifices, which exhausted the public treasure, whilst their continual wars left to a land the most fertile in the world, scarcely time to produce those harvests always ravaged by the Spaniards. Besides, they wanted laws, the only solid basis of the prosperity of a nation; and their despotic government, under which the people possessed no property in the country, occasioned each individual to consider his own talents and acquirements as the means of personal aggrandizement, rather than as the patrimony of the state.

These defects, so dangerous, and which caused their ruin, were remedied, in some measure, by those qualities which the Christians themselves were obliged to acknowledge. Equally brave and equally sober as the Spaniards, but less disciplined and less experienced, they were
their

their superiors in the attack. Adversity did not afflict them for any length of time ; they saw in it the will of heaven, and submitted without a murmur. The dogmas of fatality contributed, no doubt, to endow them with this virtue. Fervent observers of the laws of Mahomet, they practised conscientiously the praiseworthy precepts of charity : they gave to the poor, not only bread and money, but also a determined portion of their grain, their fruit, their flocks, and all kind of merchandize. In the towns and in the country the sick were received, attended, and assisted with the most humane piety. That hospitality, always so sacred amongst the Arabs, was not less observed at Grenada. They took delight in the exercise of this virtue. We cannot read, without feeling the tenderest emotion, the story of the old Grenadine ; from whom a stranger, stained

stained with blood, and pursued by the officers of justice, came to demand an asylum. The old man concealed him in his house; at the same moment the guard arrived demanding the murderer, and bearing to the old man the body of his son, whom the stranger had assassinated. The unhappy parent did not betray his guest; but when the guard had retired, "Go out of my house," said he to the assassin, "for I am not allowed to prosecute thee."

Charity is one of the strongest precepts of the religion of the Mahometans. Many parables recommend it to them; and the following, in particular, deserves notice: "The sovereign judge, at the last day, will encircle him, who has not practiced charity, with a frightful serpent, which will unceasingly pierce with his poisoned fang that avaricious hand

“hand, which never opened to relieve
“the wants of the unfortunate.”

Such were these celebrated Moors, little known to historians, who always loaded them with calumnies. After their defeat, a great number of them retired into Africa. Those who remained in Grenada had to endure the most cruel persecutions. The article of the last treaty, which gave them a formal assurance of the liberty of enjoying their religion, was violated by the Spaniards. They were forced to abjure their faith by torture, by terror, and by every species of unworthy means. Irritated at this want of faith, the Moors attempted to relieve themselves; but their efforts were useless. Ferdinand himself marched against them, punished those whom he called rebels, and, sword in hand, gave baptism to more than fifty thousand of the vanquished Moors.

The

The successors of Ferdinard, Charles the Fifth, and above all Philip the Second, tormented the Moors afresh. The inquisition was established at Grenada: terror, accusations, and punishments, were employed to convert them; they tore from them their children, to educate them in the faith of that God, who detests every species of violence, and who preaches nothing but peace; they were robbed of their property, and were accused on the slightest pretext.

The edicts of Charles V, renewed and rendered more severe by Philip II, totally changed the modes of life of the Musulmans. They prescribed to them the adoption of the dress and language of Spain, prohibited their women from wearing veils, interdicted the use of the baths and the dances of their country, and ordained that all their children, from the age of five years to fifteen, should

should be registered, in order to be educated in Catholic schools.*

Reduced to despair, they took up arms, and the most terrible vengeance was exercised by them against the Christian fathers (A. D. 1569). The new king, whom they had chosen, named Mahomet-ben-Ommiah, who pretended to be of the blood of the Omiades, sustained many combats in the Alpuxares, and maintained himself two years in spite of his misfortunes ; but was assassinated by his own relations. His successor met with the same fate, and the Moors were forced to pass again under a yoke, which their revolt made more weighty (A.D. 1609). At length King Philip the Third drove them altogether from Spain ; and the depopulation caused by that famous edict

* Recherches historiques sur les Maures, par M. Chenier, tome ii. Guerra de Grenada de Don Diego de Mendoza, lib. i.

edict inflicted on that great monarchy a wound which bleeds even now. More than one hundred and fifty thousand of these unfortunate people passed through France, where the benevolent and brave Henry the Fourth treated them with humanity. Some others, a small number, remain, and are still concealed in the mountains of Alpuxares; but the greater part of them settled in Africa, where they drag on to this day, a wretched existence, under the despotism of the King of Morocco, and demand of their God, every Sabbath, to restore them once more to the enjoyment of Grenada!

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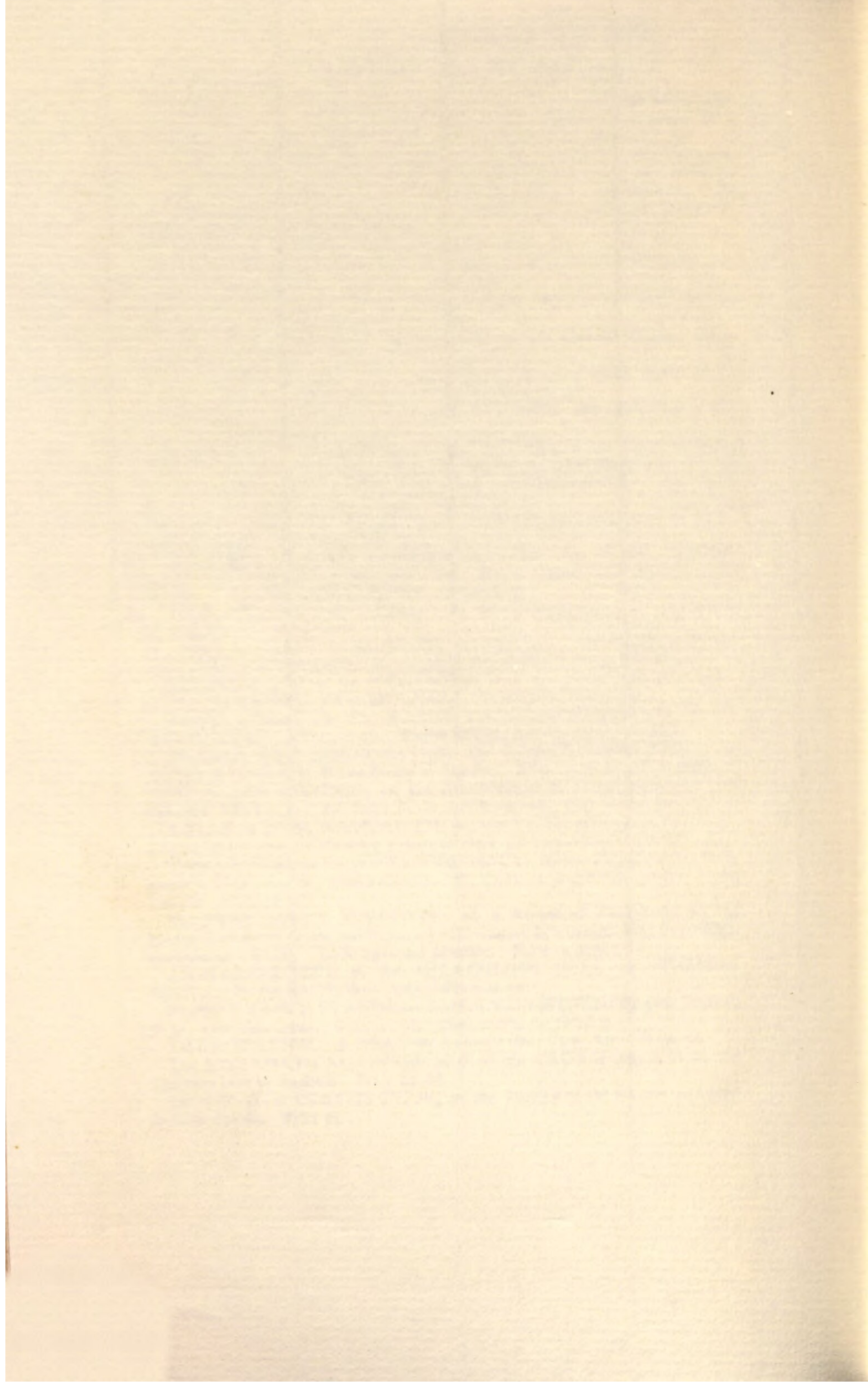
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